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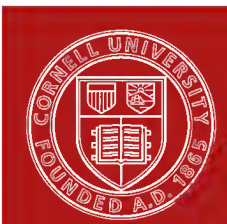

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A HISTORY OF WILLIAM PATERSON AND THE DARIEN COMPANY

WILLIAM PATERSON,

FOUNDER OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND PROJECTOR OF THE DARIEN COMPANY.

Facsimile of a Pen-and-Ink Drawing in MS. in the British Museum.

A HISTORY

OF

WILLIAM PATERSON

AND THE

DARIEN COMPANY

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS AND APPENDICES

BY

JAMES SAMUEL BARBOUR

FORMERLY ACCOUNTANT OF THE BANK OF SCOTLAND

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MCMVII

Inscribed

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF

RESPECT AND ESTEEM

TO

SIR GEORGE ANDERSON, KT.,

TREASURER OF THE BANK OF SCOTLAND,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE printed documents and books concerning the Darien Company and the relations to it of its projector William Paterson, while numerous, are widely scattered, and in the following pages an endeavour has been made for the first time to focus their chief information in narrative form.

The story of the flotation of the ill-starred Darien Company, its multiplied disasters, and its tragic collapse, along with that of the chequered career of its projector, forms an interesting episode in Scottish history which should not be allowed to sink into oblivion.

Among the numerous authorities consulted and drawn upon, the following may be particularly named:—

1. 'A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien; Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there.' Printed in the year 1700.

   The writer of this tract is understood to

have been one Walter Herries, a surgeon on board the first expedition to Darien.

2. 'The History of Darien.' By the Rev. Francis Borland, "sometime Minister of the Gospel at Glassford, and one of the Ministers who went along with the last Colony to Darien. Written mostly in the year 1700, while the Author was in the American regions." 2nd edition. Glasgow, 1779.
3. 'History of the Union.' By Daniel De Foe. London, 1786.
4. 'The Darien Papers.' Edited by Dr Hill Burton for the Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh, 1849.
5. 'The Writings of William Paterson.' By Saxe Bannister, M.A. 2nd edition. 3 vols. London, 1859.
6. 'The Early History of the Scots Darien Company.' By Hiram Bingham, Curator of South American History and Literature at the Library of Harvard University. Three papers in 'The Scottish Historical Review,' January, April, and July 1906.

EDINBURGH, *April* 1907.

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A HISTORY OF WILLIAM PATERSON AND THE DARIEN COMPANY.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM PATERSON AND THE PASSING OF THE DARIEN COMPANY'S ACT.

THE material available for a narrative of the early life of William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England and projector of the ill-fated Darien Company, is very limited. It is only after he reaches manhood that we possess details of his career. For long the whereabouts of his birthplace remained in doubt; and as regards the place of his burial, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." Hill Burton, the historian, as well as Saxe Bannister, Paterson's sympathetic biographer, had both to confess ignorance on

these points. On the authority of William Pagan ('Birthplace and Parentage of William Paterson'), we now know that Paterson was of Scottish birth, his father having been John Paterson, farmer in Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire. The farmhouse where he was born (presumably in 1658) was pulled down in 1864.

Of Paterson's early education, also, little is known; but from his ready pen, and the able manner in which he expressed himself in his numerous writings, it may justly be inferred that the superior elementary education provided by the parish school of his day laid the foundation of his future intellectual attainments.

Eliot Warburton, in 'Darien, or the Merchant Prince,' informs us that he saw it stated in an old pamphlet in the Bodleian Library that Paterson, when about seventeen years of age, on account of being suspected of intercommuning with certain Covenanters who were sheltering in his neighbourhood, was forced to leave his home in Dumfriesshire and take refuge in Bristol with an aged kinswoman of his mother. This lady dying shortly afterwards, it is conjectured that he then left England for Amsterdam, and in his visits to the coffee-houses there he became acquainted with

several of the leading merchants of that town. From this Dutch port he is believed to have made his first voyage to the West Indies, where he spent some years. It has been stated that he became first a missionary, and afterwards a buccaneer, but this is unsupported by any reliable evidence. The latter suggestion—that he attached himself to the Brethren of the Coast—is one which is quite at variance with Paterson's high-toned life. It may have had its origin in the circumstance that, while resident in Jamaica, it is understood that he got acquainted with the two well-known buccaneers, William Dampier and Lionel Wafer, from whom he derived much of his information respecting Central America and the Spanish Main. The probability is that, while in the West Indies, Paterson was engaged wholly in mercantile pursuits.

After acquiring a moderate fortune and considerable business experience, he returned to Europe with a Scheme of Foreign Trade which he had matured, the result of long study of questions of commerce and finance, and which he hoped to carry into execution under the auspices of some foreign Power. With this in view, about the year 1686 he visited several Continental towns, when he took occasion to offer his Scheme to Frederick William, Elector

of Brandenburg, and to the cities of Emden and Bremen; but meeting with little encouragement, he returned to England and settled down in London as a merchant.

Putting his Scheme of Trade aside for a time, Paterson, along with his friend Michael Godfrey and a few other London merchants, brought forward another important project, with which his name has ever since been honourably associated. This was his proposal for the formation of a National Bank, first submitted to the Government in 1691, and which finally led to the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694. Paterson's claims as "chief projector" of that great institution have never been seriously questioned. He was one of the original directors of the Bank,[1] and he saw it fairly started; but owing to a difference of opinion with the majority of his colleagues, when he was outvoted, he voluntarily withdrew from the Corporation in 1695 by selling out his qualification of £2000 stock. In a petition to Queen Anne some years afterwards (dated Westminster, 4th April 1709), he says—

"Your Petitioner first formed and pro-

[1] Paterson's name appears as one of the first directors in the copy of the Bank Charter given in the Appendix to Lawson's 'History of Banking,' first edition, 1849, p. 455.

posed the scheme for relieving the public credit by establishing the Bank of England; but that, notwithstanding the signal success of that institution for the public service, and his unwearied endeavours in promoting the same through all manner of opposition from 1691 to the full establishment thereof in 1694, your Petitioner never had any recompense for his great pains and expense therein."

Paterson's career now turned in the direction of Scotland and the Darien Company.

With the Revolution of 1688, the religious and political troubles of Scotland had begun to subside and a spirit of trade and adventure had arisen in their place. The people were envious of England's lucrative colonial trade, and longed to enjoy similar economic advantages. This desire for commercial expansion was accentuated by a succession of bad harvests, which had reduced many thousands of the population to destitution. In order to remedy this unfortunate state of matters and give effect to the commercial aspirations of the nation, the Scottish Parliament devoted itself to passing several Acts fitted to stimulate home industries and foreign trade. Notably, on 14th June 1693, it passed an important measure, entitled an *Act for Encouraging Foreign*

Trade, wherein it was declared that Scottish companies might be formed to trade "with any country not at war with their majesties—to the *East and West Indies*, the Straits and Mediterranean, Africa and the northern parts"; and such companies were promised Letters Patent and the Great Seal.

The passing of this wide trading Act paved the way for the Parliamentary incorporation of Paterson's great scheme, the Darien Company, which came about in this wise.

The monopoly of Indian trade, enjoyed by the London East India Company, had long been encroached upon by "interlopers," or ships sent out by private traders, a number of which were owned by Scots merchants in London. These gentlemen hoped to have a free trade to India, or to obtain a Charter for a rival Company. They were disappointed in this, as the old Company not only frustrated their efforts in that direction, but also secured a renewal of their own Charter for other twenty-one years. This was the position of affairs when the session of the Scottish Parliament was opened on 9th May 1695. King William expressed his regret that important engagements abroad prevented him from meeting with them, but he sent the Marquis of Tweeddale down to Scotland as his Commissioner, with

instructions to gratify the ancient kingdom as far as possible. In his opening address, after the king's letter had been read, Tweeddale, among other assurances of the royal regard for Scotland, informed the House that

"If they found it would tend to the advancement of trade that an Act be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa or America, or any other part of the world where plantations might lawfully be acquired, his Majesty was willing to declare that he would grant to his subjects in Scotland, in favour of their plantations, such rights and privileges as he was accustomed to grant to the subjects of his other dominions."[1]

In the same month, May 1695, Paterson was approached by his friend Mr James Chiesly, merchant in London, who acquainted him that there was great encouragement given by the Scottish Legislature for establishing an East India Company in Scotland on a legal basis,

[1] Although the king gave his Commissioner authority to promote any measure in the Scots Parliament for the furtherance of Scottish commerce, it was understood that any Act that might be passed was to be submitted to his Majesty for approval before it received royal assent. This formality appears to have been omitted in the case of the Darien Company's Act. At the time it was passed the king was on the Continent conducting the war against Louis XIV. of France, and was ignorant of what was being done in his name. This omission accounted for much of the hostility afterwards shown by the king to the Company, and for his significant remark that "he had been ill-served in Scotland."

and he asked his assistance in the matter. In response to Chiesly's request, Paterson drew up and handed to him the draft constitution of a Bill for erecting such a Company. The draft Bill, whatever Paterson's private prepossessions may have been at the time, while giving significant prominence to an American as well as to an African and Indian trade, did not otherwise, on the face of it, suggest the Darien enterprise, with which it was ultimately solely associated. Its original and ostensible design was the establishment of an East India trade. The measure as drafted by Paterson, having been approved by his mercantile friends in London, was carried into Scotland by Mr Chiesly and Mr Coutts, who were favourably received by the chief officers of State and, it may be said, by the whole of the nobility and people of any consequence. There was therefore no fear of the passage of the proposed Act, more especially as it had the patronage of Ministers of the Crown such as the Marquis of Tweeddale and James Johnston, Secretary of State, the latter of whom got the main credit of carrying it through Parliament.

Accordingly, on 12th June 1695, the Bill was presented to the Scottish Parliament for preliminary consideration, and after being read was referred to the Committee of Trade. On

Friday the 21st the Bill was brought in from the Committee for further consideration, when it was again read, amended, and approven. Thereafter it was again remitted to the Committee of Trade, in order that the names of the patentees or promoters—of whom ten resided in Scotland and ten in England—might be inserted. On the Wednesday following—a fortnight after its introduction—the Bill was reported to the House, when it was "read, voted, and approven." Thus the great Act erecting *The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies*,[1] so full of important issues for Scotland, passed the Scottish Parliament on 26th June 1695. It also became law on the same day by being carried to the Throne, where it was "touched with the Sceptre" by his Majesty's Commissioner in the usual way.

[1] The Company was popularly known in Scotland as "The Darien Company," from its expeditions to the Isthmus of Darien, and this title has been followed here. It is frequently referred to by contemporary writers as "The African Company," but the only action on the part of the Company which justified the use of that title was their sending out to the Gold Coast of Africa, in September 1699, a ship called the *African Merchant*, William Bell, captain. The ship returned with a quantity of gold dust, received in barter for its cargo. This gold dust was minted into twelve- and six-pound pieces Scots, sometimes called pistoles and half-pistoles (Darien pistoles). The Company's crest, "the sun rising out of the sea," appears on the coins immediately under King William's bust, and they bear the date 1701. They are further unique in respect that they were the last gold coins issued by the Scottish Mint.

Although Paterson was responsible for the main part of the text of the Bill, and his name appears in it as heading the promoters resident in England, he personally had no hand in its receiving the imprimatur of the Scottish Parliament. When giving evidence in January 1696 before the Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed to examine "what methods were taken for obtaining the Act of Parliament passed in Scotland for the establishing of the East India Company, and who were the promoters and advisers thereof," Paterson stated that "he did not solicit for the Act, nor knew anything of its passing, but he heard Mr Chiesly and Mr Blackwood say that they had solicited for such an Act formerly. He was induced to be concerned in the matter, because there was no encouragement for such a trade in England."

Among the large powers conferred upon the Darien Company by their Act were the following:—

1. Monopoly in Scotland of trade with Asia, Africa, or America for 31 years.
2. Goods imported by the Company during the space of 21 years to be duty free, except foreign sugar and tobacco.
3. The Company to be empowered for the space of 10 years to equip, fit out, and

navigate their own or hired ships in warlike or other manner, as they shall think fit.

4. Members and servants of the Company to be privileged against impressment and arrest; and if any of them happened to be so treated, the Company were authorised to release them, and to demand the assistance both of the civil and military powers for that purpose.
5. The Company and their officers and members to be free from taxes for 21 years.
6. No part of the capital stock or of the real or personal property of the Company to be liable to any manner of confiscation or arrest; and creditors of members of the Company to have lien over their profits only, without having any further rights over the debtors' stock.
7. The Company authorised to take possession of uninhabited territories in any part of Asia, Africa, or America, or in any other place, by consent of the inhabitants, provided it was not possessed by any European sovereign; and there to plant colonies, build towns and forts; to impose taxes and provide such places with magazines, arms, &c.; to wage war

and make reprisals, and to conclude treaties of peace and commerce.

8. Should any foreign State injure the Company, the king to interpose, and at the public charge obtain reparation for the damage done.
9. All persons concerned in the Company, together with those who might settle in or inhabit any of their plantations, to be declared free citizens of Scotland, and to have the privileges thereof.
10. Letters Patent, confirming the Company's Act, to be given by the king, to which the Great Seal was to be affixed.
11. In token of allegiance, the Company to pay yearly to his Majesty and his successors a hogshead of tobacco in name of blench-duty, if required.

[*For full text of the Act see Appendix A.*]

CHAPTER II.

THE CAPITAL OF THE DARIEN COMPANY.

UNLIKE the Act of the Bank of Scotland, passed about three weeks later, the Act constituting the Darien Company did not limit the amount of capital to be raised for carrying on the undertaking. It merely spoke in general terms of "the fund or capital stock that shall be agreed to be advanced and employed by the said undertakers and their co-partners." It was stipulated, however, that the amount of capital which might ultimately be agreed upon was to be subscribed not later than the 1st day of August 1696; that at least half was to be set aside for Scotsmen resident in the kingdom; and that the shares originally so subscribed could be transferred only to other Scotsmen similarly resident there. Failing half the stock being quite taken up by resident Scotsmen, then Scotsmen living abroad and foreigners were to be allowed to subscribe for the residue. No one

could hold less stock than £100 nor more than £3000 sterling.

At first Paterson and his associates proposed to fix the total capital at £360,000, but ultimately the amount was raised to £600,000 sterling—one half, as stated, to be reserved for Scotland, and the remaining £300,000 to be offered in London. From his previous experience of the remarkable success which had attended the subscriptions of the Bank of England, Paterson anticipated little difficulty in raising the moiety assigned to London. He therefore addressed himself to quickening the speculative interest of his countrymen in the proposed enterprise, and in this connection it is interesting to read the correspondence which passed between Paterson and the Right Honourable Sir Robert Chiesly, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who represented the Scottish portion of Directors appointed by the Act. Paterson's letters are dated from London, and in the correspondence he stands out as a financial expert far ahead of his time—being, in fact, quite abreast of the astute company promoters of our own day. In his letter of 4th July 1695 he suggests that the information about to be furnished to the people of Scotland should not be too detailed. "And for Reasons, we ought to give none but that it is a Fund for the African

and Indian Company. For if we are not able to raise the Fund by our Reputation, we shall hardly do it by our Reasons." This method of floating a company on the reputation of the promoters is in keeping with some of the prospectuses of the numerous bubble companies launched a few years afterwards (in 1720), one of which stated that the company about to be promoted was "for an object to be hereafter revealed."

On the 9th July Paterson urges that a limited time only should be allowed to the public for giving in their subscriptions. He writes: "The Bank of England had but six weeks' time from the opening of the books, and was finished in nine days, and in all subscriptions here it's always limited to a short day. For if a thing go not on with the first heat, the raising of a Fund seldom or never succeeds, the multitude being commonly led more by example than reason." Continuing, he says: "They" (the gentlemen promoters in London) "hope, all things considered, that this, as it's designed, is one of the most beneficial and best grounded pieces of trade at this day in Christendom, and we must engage some of the best heads and purses for trade in Europe therein, or we can never do it as it ought to be."

Paterson several times complained of Lord Provost Chiesly's delay in forwarding to him

an authentic copy of the Company's Act "as it passed the Seals," his aim being to get the Company established before the English Parliament met. On the 6th of August he writes somewhat warmly: "The life of all commerce depends upon a punctual correspondence, and we shall not fail at any time to return our thoughts upon your demands, so we hope you will keep up to the exactness of correspondence on your part." A week later Paterson intimated to the Lord Provost that it was proposed to convene a General Meeting of the Corporation, to be held in London, for the purpose of making the arrangements necessary for opening the subscriptions there. At the same time he drew attention to two errors that had crept into the Act—viz., Mr James Smith, merchant, London, being misnamed John Smith, and Mr Joseph Cohen D'Azevedo's name being printed as if it represented two separate individuals. It would therefore be necessary—in fact, it was urgent—that three from among the Scotch promoters named in the Act should be present at the proposed meeting in London, so as to make a majority and quorum, and have the errors referred to rectified. Paterson had to repeat this request several times; and in compliance therewith, although somewhat tardily, Lord

Belhaven, with Mr Robert Blackwood and Mr James Balfour, proceeded as a deputation to London and attended several meetings there, commencing on 9th November. The London subscription book was opened on 13th November 1695, and was closed on the 22nd—the day on which the English Parliament met. Thus in nine days the entire issue of £300,000 stock was subscribed, of which one-fourth—£75,000—was paid up at the time of subscription. In point of fact, the stock was over-applied for, and the applications had to be cut down. Included in the list of subscribers was Paterson's own name for £3000, and that of his servitor for £100 stock. The English promoters proceeded to business at once, not waiting until the Scotch subscriptions were taken. One of their first deeds was to pass a resolution that the Court of Directors, besides those named in the Act of Parliament, should be increased by thirty additional Directors—making fifty in all. The qualification for each of these additional Directors was fixed at £1000 stock or more, along with proxies from other proprietors amounting to £20,000, including the new Director's own holding. Under this rule several new Directors got seats on the London board during the month of November. On 4th

December they passed a resolution — "That one or more ships be fitted out for the East Indies from Scotland with all convenient speed." This resolution, however, was not given effect to, as it was ultimately thought better to delay sending out ships until the Scottish subscriptions were taken.

But the progress of the Company soon sustained a check. The powerful London East India Company took alarm, and they petitioned the House of Commons, setting forth the encroachment in their Indian trade. This resulted in the Lords and Commons holding a joint conference and unanimously concurring in an Address to the King, complaining of the establishment of the Scots East India Company with privileges which it was apprehended would ruin the English East India trade, and animadverting upon the action of the Scottish Minister and the Scottish Parliament in passing the Act. The Act of the Scottish Parliament, however, could neither be recalled nor suspended. On 17th December 1695 both Houses waited on King William at Kensington with their Address, to which his Majesty made the memorable reply—"That he had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the Act"; and followed this

up by dismissing the Lord High Commissioner Tweeddale and Secretary Johnston. The Commons went further. They ordered production of the London books of the Company, made a searching inquiry into its actings, and finally threatened Paterson and his English colleagues, along with Lord Belhaven[1] and the other two Scotch deputies, with an impeachment, which, however, was afterwards abandoned. The ground of the impeachment was that the Directors were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour in raising monies and administering an oath *de fideli* in England under colour of a Scottish Act of Parliament.

The House of Lords, on their part, also took extreme steps. On the 20th December they resolved to prepare a Bill to provide remedies against the inconveniences attending the Scots Act, two of the heads of which were—(1) That the subjects of England be discouraged, under severe penalties, from engaging in the stock or management of the Scots East India Company;

[1] When the summons citing Lord Belhaven to appear at the bar of the Commons was served, "the messenger was informed at my Lord's house that his Lordship was gone to Scotland."

Roderick Mackenzie, the Secretary of the Company, having refused to give certain evidence, the House ordered him to be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. Mackenzie eluded the search officers, and a Government proclamation was issued for his apprehension; but he also fled the country and escaped the storm.

and (2) that all seamen of England, Ireland, or the Plantations be prohibited, under severe penalties, from navigating or serving in the Company's merchant ships, and that the shipwrights and builders of ships in or belonging to England, Ireland, or the Plantations be likewise restrained, under severe penalties, from repairing to Scotland, or from building any ships for their service within those Kingdoms or the Plantations.

This hostile action on the part of the Government alarmed the English subscribers, and they reluctantly withdrew their subscriptions, and so relinquished the design.[1] The scheme, so far as regards an East Indian trade, was now knocked on the head. It has been alleged that Paterson all along had been lukewarm to the East India trade, and instead secretly hoped to carry out his long-cherished idea of establishing a great settlement in Central America.

[1] In April 1697 a similar fate attended a subscription of £200,000 offered to the merchants of Hamburg, whither Paterson had gone to enlist subscribers in lieu of those withdrawn in London. After the books had been opened and subscriptions promised, Sir Paul Rycaut, the English Resident at Hamburg, and Mr Cresset, the English Envoy to the Court of Lunenburgh, presented a Memorial in King William's name to the Senate of Hamburg, stating that his Majesty would regard such proceedings as an affront, which he would not fail to resent. The Hamburgers, wishing to avert the displeasure of England, reluctantly withdrew their promised support. The Directors of the Company addressed several appeals and remonstrances to King William on the subject, but they got no redress.

In a letter (Bannister's 'Life of William Paterson') dated 5th September 1696, from Mr Robert Douglas, a Scots merchant in London, he says—

"I found Mr Paterson in several particulars opposing everything that tended to promote the Scots East India trade, when under consideration in England, and industriously bringing in some that were concerned in the English East India Company (five of whom had taken oaths to the said Company—were then in Committee) to be Directors of the Scots East India trade. So I considered he must be treacherous to the interest he seemed to espouse, . . . or else, knowing his ignorance in the East India trade, might have some West India design of his own to promote."

This allegation, as to assuming as Directors certain proprietors who were also members of the London Company, is partly confirmed by the evidence given by Colonel Robert Lancashire, one of the newly assumed Directors, in his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in January 1696.

"Mr Lancashire, being examined, said that he was a member of the English East India Company, and of the Scotch East India Company, and subscribed £3000 to the stock, and gave a note for one-fourth part to Mr Foulis and Mr Chiesly, dated 8th November. That it was proposed to send out a ship as an interloper, but he refused to consent to it, saying it was against his oath to the English East India Company."

Meantime, prior to the subscription books being opened in Scotland, care had been taken to arouse the interest of the Scots nation in the proposed foreign trade by the circulation of pamphlets on the subject. One of these bore the title, 'Proposals for a Fond to cary on a Plantation,' which stated that "persons of all ranks, yea, the body of the nation, are longing to have a plantation in America." This probably was inspired by Paterson. The "Address" of the two Houses to the Crown, which directed special attention to the ample privileges conferred by the Scottish Act, but without the king's damaging reply to it, was also printed and reprinted at Edinburgh, and being widely circulated, had much influence in moving public opinion in favour of the scheme.

The withdrawal of the London subscribers,—men experienced in large commercial undertakings,—and the pronounced hostility of the English Government, should have made Paterson and the Directors in Scotland hesitate before proceeding further in the affair. But the insult attending the opposition of the English Government, and the disavowal of the project by the king, wounded the honest pride of the Scots, who patriotically resolved "to stand upon their own bottom," and to pursue the undertaking, although on different lines, with their own re-

sources. They aimed now at a capital increased to £400,000,[1] in place of £300,000.

On the 26th February 1696, within a few weeks after the denunciation of the English Parliament, the subscription book of the Darien Company was opened in Edinburgh. The scheme immediately became a national concern, and people of all classes pressed forward to participate in the emission. In his 'History of England,' Macaulay says: "From the Pentland Firth to the Solway, every one who had a hundred pounds was impatient to put down his name."[2]

On the first day, 26th February, £50,400 was subscribed, and daily, till the end of March, the list filled up steadily. The last two days of March brought in considerable

[1] A capital limited to £400,000, even although the money could have been raised in Scotland, foredoomed the Darien scheme to failure. Paterson realised this when it was too late. In his subsequent plan to revive the Darien enterprise, given at length in Dalrymple's 'Memoirs,' he proposed a capital of two million pounds sterling, one-fifth part to belong to Scotland and the other four-fifths to England. On 5th February 1696 the House of Lords resolved that the English East India trade be carried on by a company, under Act of Parliament, with a joint-stock of £3,000,000.

[2] The Lord Justice-Clerk, writing to Lord Tullibardine on 18th December 1697, says: "'Twas the notice the Parliament of England first took of it [Darien Company] made the whole nation throng in to have some share, and I'm of opinion the resentments people are acted by are the greatest supplies that furnishes life to that affair."

support. On the 30th, Mr Thomas Scott, merchant, Dundee, came as a deputy from that town with 42 subscriptions besides his own. On the 31st, a large contingent came forward. To meet the pressure that day the subscription book was kept open in the afternoon, and 176 applications in all were received. A separate book was opened at Glasgow on the 5th of March, and the total amount received there was £56,325. At a General Meeting of the Company held on 3rd April—Lord Belhaven in the chair—it was reported that upwards of £300,000 had been subscribed. By the end of May the capital of £400,000 was all taken up excepting £25,000. In June and July the applications dropped away, and several days frequently passed without an entry. The list was kept open until 1st August, the last day fixed by the Company's Act, when the grand total of £400,000 was completed.[1] This result, however, was accomplished with some difficulty, as the books of the Company reveal the fact that on the closing day certain subscribers, by arrangement with the Company, temporarily increased their original applications, so as to

[1] Macaulay, in his 'History of England,' says four hundred thousand pounds probably bore as great a ratio to the wealth of Scotland in 1696 as forty millions would do at the time he wrote his History.

enable the Directors to make the announcement that the total issue had been taken up.

The names of the various subscribers — all "residenters in Scotland" — are noteworthy.[1] They comprise nobles, landed gentry, merchants, ministers, surgeons, lawyers, &c., including all the royal burghs of Scotland.[2] Paterson's scheme appealed strongly to the ladies of Scotland, the first five names put down on the list being—

Anne, Dutches of Hamilton and Chastlerault, &c.	£3000
Margarett, Countesse of Rothesse . .	1000
Margarett, Countesse of Rothesse, for her Son Thomas, Earle of Haddington . .	1000
Lady Margarett Hope of Hopetoun . .	1000
Lady Margarett Hope of Hopetoun, for her Son Hopetoun	2000

The "Good Town of Edinburgh" (per Lord Provost Chiesly) took the maximum subscription of £3000, and the Merchant Company of Edinburgh took £1200, while the little "Town of Queensferry" went in for £100 stock. On

[1] For detailed List of Subscribers, arranged alphabetically see Appendix F.

[2] On 17th July 1695 the Scots Parliament passed a special Act for the purpose of enabling the administrators of the Common Good of burghs to invest their funds in the stock of the Darien Company. The closing words of the Act free and relieve the administrators from liability for any loss that might arise through the investment.

the closing day the "Royal Burghs," as a body, ventured £3000, and the last to sign the list was "Sir Archibald Mure, in name of the burgh of Cowpper of Fyfe," for £100 stock.

The various calls made on the stockholders were as follows:—

1st	call of	25	per cent,	payable	1st June 1696.
2nd	do.	3¾	do.	do.	11th Nov. 1698 } 1st and 2nd moiety of call of 7½ per cent.
3rd	do.	3¾	do.	do.	Candlemas 1699 }
4th	do.	5	do.	do.	15th May 1699.
5th	do.	2½	do.	do.	11th Nov. 1699.
6th	do.	2½	do.	do.	2nd Feb. 1700.
		42½	per cent in all.		

Note.—The first call of 25 per cent was to bear interest from 1st August 1698, and the remaining calls from their respective dates of payment.

The first instalment of 25 per cent was well met. It should have produced £100,000, and it actually realised the sum of £98,223, 17s. 2⅔d. In connection with this call, the Directors offered a discount of 12 per cent on prepayments, whereby they drew in the sum of £34,006, 13s. 4d. before the due date, 1st June. This proved to be bad business, as the Company, in their assumed *rôle* of bankers, commenced shortly afterwards to lend money to their proprietors at the modified rate of 4 per cent. They had to make this concession in competing with the Bank of Scotland, whose

directors at this time had reduced the interest on loans from 6 per cent — the legal rate — to 4 per cent.

As mentioned above, the various calls made by the Directors amounted in all to 42½ per cent of the total capital of £400,000 subscribed, and this should have realised £170,000. The actual cash paid up by the subscribers in respect of calls was £153,448, 5s. 4⅔d., along with £65,646, 3s. 2⅔d. of overdue interest. This large amount of interest indicates the great difficulty experienced by the subscribers in meeting their calls. In the extraordinary national enthusiasm evoked at the time, the Scottish people subscribed for much more stock than they were able to pay calls upon. In the final years of the Company, subscribers all over the country had to be sued at law for payment of their calls, and when the Company was dissolved in 1707 a considerable balance then still due by the proprietors had to be cancelled.

The call-money paid up, together with the interest, amounted in all to £219,094, 8s. 7⅓d., and this sum represented the grand total which Scotland stood to lose in the ill-fated concern.

CHAPTER III.

THE DARIEN COMPANY AND ITS BANK-NOTE ISSUE.

ONE of the first operations resolved upon by the Court of Directors of the Darien Company was the organising of a banking business as an adjunct to their great colonisation scheme. This was in defiance of the Act passed in favour of the Bank of Scotland on 17th July 1695, whereby that institution had a monopoly of banking in Scotland. The Bank Act declared that, for the space of twenty-one years after its date, "it shall not be leisom [lawful] to any other persons to enter into or set up an distinct Company of Bank within the Kingdom."

The Act of the Darien Company contained no reference to banking, being solely directed to foreign trade and commerce. It appears, however, that Paterson had it in view from

the first to include banking, or a "fund of credit" as he termed it, as part of his scheme. This intention was kept secret at first; but it got "air" about the month of May 1696, while Mr John Holland of London, the founder and first governor of the Bank of Scotland, was temporarily residing in Edinburgh. Holland had come to Scotland at the request of the directors of the Bank for the purpose of placing the young institution on a proper business footing, as he was thought to be better acquainted with the nature and management of a bank. Holland felt keenly the unexpected and hostile attitude of the Darien Company, and he made a spirited attack on Paterson in a pamphlet published in Edinburgh in 1696. This brochure is entitled 'A short Discourse on the present Temper of the Nation with respect to the Indian and African Company and of the Bank of Scotland; also of Mr Paterson's pretended Fund of Credit.' In this paper Holland stated that, on his arrival in Edinburgh, Paterson came "and begged him to pardon his ever pretending against the Bank, and [declaring] that whatever had been [done] was only for fear it might interrupt and hinder the subscriptions to the African Company, but he [Paterson] saw it did not, and therefore wished all

manner of success to it."[1] Notwithstanding this protestation, Paterson and his associates proceeded with their banking operations.

The following establishment was appointed, apparently with a view to engaging in banking on an extensive scale :—

Roderick Mackenzie, Secretary .	Salary	£150
James Dunlop, Chief Accountant .	do.	120
Robert Douglas, Accountant . .	do.	80
Andrew Teuchlar, do. . .	do.	60
John Symer, . do. . .	do.	35
John Dixon, Clerk and Accountant to the Committee of Improvements	do.	50
Gavin Plummer, Chief Cashier .	do.	120
Andrew Cockburn, Assistant to do. .	do.	60
James Lyel, Ware and Storehousekeeper	do.	70
James Thompson, Clerk . . .	do.	30
Andrew Johnston, do. . . .	do.	30
Gilbert More, Teller . . .	do.	25
Adam Nisbet, do. . . .	do.	25
Robert Pringle, do. . . .	do.	25
Charles Auchmutie, Housekeeper .	do.	15
William Hopkirk, Messenger .	do.	10
Salaries in all		£905[2]

[1] Paterson had no hand in the formation of the Bank of Scotland, but was rather opposed to it. In a letter to Lord Provost Chiesly, dated London, 15th August 1695, he says, "I desire a copy of the Bank Act so surreptitiously gained. It may be a great prejudice [to our Company], but is never likely to be any matter of good to us, nor to those who have it."

[2] The first official staff of the Bank of Scotland, like its

On 18th June 1696 an engraved copperplate for printing bank notes was given in charge by the Court of Directors to their Committee of Treasury, "to be kept under lock and key with the cash." The committee were also ordered to take care "that no copies or blank bills should be cast off or printed, but in presence of three at least of their number; who were further directed to take all such blanks into their special care, as if the same were real money."

A writer in the 'Scottish Antiquary' of July 1896 states that the character of the lettering on the copperplate is so close a copy of Paterson's handwriting that it may be assumed that the

original paid-up capital of £10,000, was on a modest scale. For the year ending March 1697, the entire charge for salaries and directors' fees was £452, viz.:—

James Marjoribanks, Treasurer	£100
Alex. Weir, Assistant to Treasurer	30
George Watson, Accountant	60
James Cuming, his Assistant	30
William Hislop, his other Assistant	25
David Spence, Secretary	25
James Forbes, Teller	25
Archd. Hutchison, do.	25
John Nicolson, Officer	12
	£332
Add Honorarium distributed among the twelve Ordinary Directors	120
In all	£452

original model of it passed to the engraver direct from his own pen. A similar reference is made to the handwriting filling up the blank spaces, dates of issue and money amounts, &c., of the actual notes in process of being made ready for circulation.[1] The notes were of the values of £100, £50, £20, £10, and £5. The same copperplate was used for all the denominations of the notes, the different values being written in with the hand.

Following upon this—viz., on 26th June—the Court of Directors, having under consideration "the manner of rendering the Company's Current-Bills useful," ordered that fit persons should be appointed at Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, &c., to be cashiers to the Company, who should have certain amounts of the Company's bills in their hands, to answer and serve the Company's correspondence in these towns and the several next adjacent places. Accordingly, the cashiers of the Company in the various parts were charged with the Company's bank notes, for the purposes of circulation, as follows:—

[1] The writer of the article has apparently fallen into error here, probably misled by similar handwriting contained in certain of Paterson's letters addressed to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, which are included in the "Miscellaneous Collection" of Darien Papers in the Advocates' Library. These letters, however, are not holograph, but are merely official copies by another hand —probably that of one of the Darien Company's staff.

DARIEN BANK-NOTES.

TWO SPECIMEN FORMS, ON A REDUCED SCALE, TAKEN FROM THE COMPANY'S NOTE-BOOK IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

John Peddie, Cashier in		Glasgow	£5000
Thomas Burnett,	"	Aberdeen	2000
Alex. Robertson,	"	Dundee	1500
and John Reid	"	Dumfries	1000

Owing to the poverty of Scotland at this period, the practice of receiving money on deposit had not begun, and banking clients were all borrowers.[1] Strict banking consisted in lending money on heritable and personal bonds and in the discount of bills. By this means the Bank notes were placed in the hands of the public.

As we have seen, the Darien Company opened agencies in various provincial towns for the purpose of circulating their notes. This infringement of the Bank's special Act of Parliament and obstruction to its progress at the beginning of its career was very trying to the young institution. In a letter written in 1696 by the London directors of the Bank to their colleague Mr Holland in Edinburgh, they say that they "are sorry to hear of any designs of the African Company against us [*i.e.*, the Bank], having resolved to assist them in the

[1] The Bank of Scotland appears to have first received money on deposit in 1707, for which no interest was given. In 1729 it was received on current account on the treasurer's bond or bill, carrying interest. In 1762 notes payable to order by the treasurer for deposits began to be used as a regular branch of business. In 1810 deposit receipts were commenced, and have since continued in use.

best of our power, they containing themselves within the bounds of their Act." Although the Bank directors possessed the exclusive privilege of banking in Scotland, they did not exercise their right of contesting their legal position, and so extinguishing the innovation on their monopoly. The Darien Company was too popular throughout Scotland, "the whole humour of the nation being run on it," to render any action of this kind a success. The Earl of Marchmont, writing to the Duke of Queensberry in December 1699, says: "I have enough ado to keep myself from falling into disgrace with that Company, which is little less than to say falling into disgrace with the Scots nation." Mr Holland noted this, and prudently advised his fellow-directors "to lie by for a little, and so manage the Bank's affairs as not to suffer an affront from the mighty Company by the latter making a run upon their cash." As it happened, the obstruction was temporary only, and in a year or two it entirely disappeared.

Lawson, in his 'History of Banking,' states that in order to obtain a circulation of their notes, and to suppress the notes of their rival the young Bank, the Company lent money on securities which they were unable to realise, —"this coming to the knowledge of the public,

lessened the value of their stock so much that they ultimately gave up the banking business." The Company also made advances to their own proprietors on the security of their stock—a practice which had to be discontinued.[1] Probably the chief cause of their non-success in banking was the fact that the whole of their paid-up capital, with borrowed money in addition, was fully required in exploiting their great colonisation scheme. The want of "till-money" endangered the convertibility of their notes. As Paterson himself states in a tract, published in 1705, "No bank can succeed without a considerable fund of cash to answer necessary demands."

When the notes were finally retired by the Company on 19th June 1701, the total issue had amounted to £12,085 only, thus—

£5400	in	£100	notes.
4100	"	50	"
1700	"	20	"
310	"	10	"
575	"	5	"

These notes were the Company's first and only

[1] "And the Committee of Treasury was ordered to sign no more Warrants to the Cashier for lending money to any of the proprietors of this joint-stock, upon the credit of their respective Shares therein, without special order from the Court of Directors concerning the same."—Darien Company Minute, 2nd October 1696.

issue. They were all dated 25th June 1696; made payable to the chief accountant, James Dunlop, or bearer on demand; signed by the chief cashier, Gavin Plummer, and countersigned as "entered" by the assistant cashier, Andrew Cockburn. The Company had no notes below £5.[1]

[1] By way of contrast, we give the Bank of Scotland note circulation at the time. In his 'Short Discourse' (1696) Mr Holland says: "As soon as the rules and methods for carrying on the Bank of Scotland were agreed to by the General Meeting of Adventurers, the Directors proceeded to business, and with such success that the credit of the Bills [Bank notes], as fast as they were issued out, obtained to a degree beyond expectation." The Bank took in its subscriptions and commenced business some months earlier than the Darien Company, and their first issue of large notes is dated 25th March 1696, being three months prior to those of the Darien Company. £1 notes were not issued by the Bank until 7th April 1704. In December 1704, when the Bank made a temporary stop, caused by the scarcity of money all over the kingdom and by a report that the Privy Council was to cry up the value of "species," the balance-sheet, drawn up for the information of the Council, reported that the Bank notes outstanding amounted to £50,847. This was after the Bank had met a severe run:

1704, Decr. 19.	To Bank Bills charged upon the Treasurer . . .	£146,735 0 0
	Deduct amount in the Treasurer's hands . . .	95,888 0 0
	Remains nett of Bills running throughout the Kingdom .	£50,847 0 0

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPANY'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO DARIEN.

When the London subscribers reluctantly cancelled their subscriptions, owing to the threatened impeachment and other hostile acts of the English Government, five of their number held out, resolving to stand to their guns. Three of these gentlemen—viz., Paterson, James Smyth, and Daniel Lodge—visited Edinburgh for the purpose of giving their best help to the Scottish Directors in floating the Company in Scotland.[1] Mr John Holland, the London merchant, in his 'Short Discourse,' states—

"When I came down to Scotland, which was on the 18th of March [1696], I found Mr Paterson very popular,

[1] The following entries appear in the list of subscribers:—

Andrew Johnston, Servant to William Paterson, by virtue of a deputation from David Walker, Tanner in Leslie	£100	0	0
Daniel Lodge for Alexander Stevenson, Merchant in Edinburgh	600	0	0

and in some proportion Mr Smyth and Mr Lodge; and I found the whole nation universally in favour of the Indian and African trade."

After a short stay Smyth returned to London, but Paterson and Lodge remained in Edinburgh and attended several committee meetings of the Company. As Paterson was the only Director intimately conversant with the methods of foreign trade, he figures as the chief spokesman and counsellor at these meetings; and as his services were no longer required in England, he now placed all his information and valuable experience at the disposal of the Scottish Directors.

At an important meeting of the Committee of Foreign Trade, held on 23rd July 1696, Paterson submitted several memoirs, journals, reckonings, illuminated maps, and other papers of discovery, in connection with which he proposed sundry designs and schemes of trade. The meeting also came to some resolutions as to "ships, cargoes, stores, and equipages needful for Africa and the East and West Indies." The members of the committee appear to have been impressed with the feasibility and advantage to the Company of the designs proposed by Paterson. They unanimously requested him to commit his designs to writing, and deliver them in a sealed packet, together with the

relative journals, maps, &c., to the Secretary for the Company's use. The packet was to be further sealed with the respective seals of my Lord Ruthven and three other Directors, and was not to be opened but by special order of the Court of Directors.

At this meeting the project of the great Darien scheme appears to have been unfolded and discussed for the first time, and Paterson was "encouraged freely to bestow all his pains and time henceforward in prosecuting the undertaking." The design was communicated to a select few of the Directors, upon whom strict secrecy was enjoined.[1]

The scheme as propounded by Paterson was a magnificent one, and one which has fascinated other projectors since his day, who have emulated his project at enormous cost,—also without success.[2] For many years it had been Paterson's dream, and had much engaged his thoughts, that a certain part of the Isthmus of Darien, in

[1] The destiny of the Company was thus changed. If the English subscribers had been permitted to retain their connection with the Company, it is probable that their plan of operations would have been directed, as it was originally intended, towards a safe and profitable East Indian trade.

[2] When De Lesseps' Panama Canal Company went into liquidation in January 1889, its bond and share indebtedness and interest charges were roughly estimated at £74,000,000, with perhaps a fifth of the real work done.—'Chambers's Encyclopædia': article "Panama."

Central America, should be made an *entrepôt* for the exchange of Western and Eastern commodities. At commodious ports on each side of the Isthmus he proposed to establish emporiums, and to conduct the trade of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, collected at these points, across the Isthmus by an overland route. By reason of its geographical position, it was anticipated that over this highway two-thirds at least of the commerce between Europe and Asia would be diverted from the route round the Cape, and Scotland might thus supplant Holland as the great mart for the wealth of the East. Paterson himself described the advantages of the proposed new route in the following words :—

"The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greatest part of the East Indies will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus, this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with anything of a sort of reasonable management, will of course enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood, of Alexander and Cæsar."

The inauguration of universal free trade and the concentration of the commerce of the globe on the Isthmus of Darien were the dominant ideas of Paterson's scheme; but when he lost influence with the Company, as will be afterwards explained, the free trade idea was departed from, and, instead, it was resolved to settle a plantation or colony on the north side of the Isthmus, to be called by the name of "Caledonia."

On the 22nd August the Company, at a meeting, at which Paterson and Lodge were both present, instructed John Munro, Doctor of Medicine, along with other four "Chirurgeon-Apothecaries" in Edinburgh, to prepare sufficient medicaments for the use of 1500 men for two years. On 30th September the doctor was further ordered to proceed to Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and other northern towns, to ascertain the cheapest price of beef, and also dry and barrelled cod-fish, for the Company's use. He was also instructed to employ gunsmiths "wherever he can find them," and set them to work to make as many pistols "as they'll undertake" at 17s. or 18s. per pair.

Right on to 1697 the Company continued to purchase and amass a vast quantity of provisions and articles of trade, which they stored in their warehouse in Miln Square, Edinburgh. Large

purchases were made of arms and ammunition and general ironmongery, also smiths', coopers', and carpenters' tools.

The following list gives an indication of the various stores which were collected :—

300 tons biscuit (coarse, middle, and fine).
200 oxen ("the best they can find, to be slaughtered at Leith").
70 tons stalled beef.
15 tons pork.
7½ tons suet.
20 tuns vinegar ("the best").
20 tuns brandy.
7 tuns rorum ("half black, half yellow").
5 tuns claret ("strong").
20 tons prunes.
29 barrels tobacco pipes.
2000 reams paper ("sortable").

The Company also closed with the widow of Andrew Anderson, printer, for "a bargain of Bibles and Catechisms," for which £50 sterling was paid in advance. A contract was also entered into with Jeromie Robertson, periwig-maker, for "Campaign Wigs and Bobb Wigs"; and three Edinburgh hatters delivered into the Company's warehouse 1440 hats, at 2s. each, as the first instalment of their contract.[1]

[1] Herries describes the cargo in his 'Tract,' and refers to these purchases in the following sarcastic terms: "Scotch Hats, a great quantity; English Bibles, 1500; Periwigs, 4000, some

The Directors had appointed two agents to go "beyond the seas" (Alexander Stevenson to Hamburg, and Thomas Gibson to Amsterdam) to get the necessary ships built for the Company's use. Shortly after this, towards the end of September 1696, Paterson and other two Directors were deputed to visit these places to secure additional marine stores, and pay for the ships and arrange for their transference to Scotland. At that time such stores could be obtained much cheaper in Holland than in Scotland. There were also no dockyards in Scotland where ships could be built, and England was forbidden to give the Company any help in regard to seamen or shipping.

Owing to his familiarity with the home and foreign Exchanges, Paterson was selected as the Director fittest to handle the funds required to defray the cost of shipbuilding and other charges abroad. The sum of £25,000 was therefore entrusted to him, and of this amount, in anticipation of a rise in the rate of exchange, he remitted about £17,000 to his friend James

long, some short; Campaigns, Spanish bobs and natural ones. And truly they were all natural, for being made of Highlanders' hair, which is blanched with the rain and sun, when they came to be opened in the West Indies they looked like so many of Samson's fireships that he sent among the Philistines, and could be of no use to the Colony if it were not to mix with their lime when they plastered the walls of their houses."

Smyth, merchant in London. Smyth was to act as the Company's correspondent to retire bills drawn upon him from the Continent for the purchases made abroad, and in this connection an incident occurred which unfortunately marred Paterson's whole after-career. According to arrangement, Paterson and Colonel Erskine travelled direct to Holland. The other foreign deputy, Mr Haldane of Gleneagles, was instructed to pass through London and take Smyth by the way, and examine the state of the Company's cash in his hands. To Gleneagles' surprise, he found that Smyth had been unfaithful to his trust, and had decamped with a large part of the funds. An immediate pursuit led to the recovery of a portion of the money, but a balance remained unaccounted for of over £8000.[1] Paterson got much blame in the affair, and his credit was injured. A committee, consisting of Mr William Dunlop, Principal of the College of Glasgow, and Mr Robert Blackwood, two of the leading Directors, was appointed to examine into the business. After an exhaustive inquiry, these gentlemen gave in a report completely exonerating Pater-

[1] Misfortune seems to have dogged the footsteps of the Company from the beginning to the end of their career. As early as November 1696 there is an entry in their books: "For so much dead loss on the Scots milled money which was in hand when it was cryed down, £1172, 16s. 7d."

son, and stating that it was entirely a case of misplaced confidence. On being pressed by the committee to say how he proposed to repay the balance, Paterson stated that, by leaving his own business in London abruptly to advance the interests of the Company both in Scotland and abroad, he had lost more than the balance due to them, especially referring to £4000 which he had in the Orphans' Fund and £2000 in the Hampstead Waterworks. He was, therefore, now devoid of funds to pay off the debt. He proposed that the Company should either dismiss him from their service, so that he could return to mercantile pursuits in London, hoping thereby to make good the balance, or that he should be allowed to go abroad in the service of the Directors, they appropriating a large part of his salary for the Company's benefit. The committee recommended the second alternative—viz., that Paterson's services should be retained, and that he should accompany the intended expedition in an official capacity. The Court of Directors, however, disregarded their committee's recommendation and made Paterson stand aside. He might go with the expedition if he chose, but only as a supernumerary.

Up to this time Paterson had been the chief counsellor in all the Company's proceedings and

the projector of their plans, but through this unfortunate incident he now lost influence, and as an adviser was quite ignored—a strange turn in affairs, which naturally wounded him to the quick.

It was not until near the close of 1697 that three of the ships, built at Hamburg and Amsterdam, were ready to sail for Scotland, although they had been lying idly at these ports with their complement of men for several months. They arrived in Leith Roads on 20th November, to the no small joy of the proprietors of the Company's stock, many of whom had become dubious of their very existence, and were afterwards taken up the Firth to winter there.

In about four months after the arrival of the ships the following advertisement was issued. It is printed on a folio sheet, with the Company's arms at top :—

EDINBURGH, 12*th March* 1698.

The Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, having now in readiness Ships and Tenders in very good order, with Provisions and all manner of Things needful for their intended Expedition to settle a Colony in the Indies; give Notice, that for the general encouragement of all such as are willing to go upon the said Expedition—

Everyone who goes on the first Equipage shall Receive and Possess Fifty Acres of Plantable Land and 50 Foot Square of ground at least in the Chief City or

Town, and an ordinary House built thereupon by the Colony at the end of 3 years;

Every Councillor shall have double. If anyone shall die, the profit shall descend to his Wife and nearest relations. The family and blood relations shall be transported at the expense of the Company;

The Government shall bestow rewards for special services.

By Order of the Court,

ROD. MACKENZIE, *Secy.*

Shortly before the expedition sailed, these arrangements were slightly altered. Each planter was to be indentured for three years, and maintained during the period at the Company's expense, and at the expiry of the three years he was to receive his allotment of land, &c. The officers were to be allowed 100 acres in all, with a house in the capital city proportionable; and the councillors were to have three portions, or 150 acres. The maximum holding was fixed at 150 acres, "to the end that what is taken up may be the better cultivated, and may not be engrossed by a few to the discouragement of other industrious people."

In response to the Company's advertisement for volunteers for their intended expedition "to settle a Colony in the Indies," they had the offer of many more men than they could employ. Owing to the continuance of a severe famine

in Scotland, large numbers of the population had been driven to Ireland for subsistence, and Paterson's new enterprise, in addition to its novelty, opened up a fine field for intending emigrants. Out of the numbers offering, 1200 were accepted by the Company, 300 of whom were young men of the best Scottish families, —"Gentlemen-Volunteers," in search of fortune in the far-off settlement. There were also 60 military officers, with many of the rank and file who had served under them in Flanders, and who had been thrown out of employment by the Peace of Ryswick lately concluded. The officers were enrolled under the denomination of "Overseers" and "Sub-Overseers," and the soldiers under that of "Planters," the Company's Act forbidding the enlistment of soldiers as such without the formal sanction of the Lords of the Privy Council, which the Directors did not deem it prudent to ask.

The expedition (its destination being still kept secret) was meant to start in spring, but various delays arising, it was ultimately timed to sail in the month of July 1698. In anticipation of this, the Directors on 8th July elected a Council consisting of seven,[1] some of them in the double

[1] Herries, in his usual flippant way, thus describes the seven councillors :—

"To give you the characters at large of these 7 Councellors

capacity of captains of the ships as well as councillors, in whom they vested the supreme direction of their intended Colony, with power to the survivors to fill up vacancies in case of death or other removal. No provision, however, was made for the appointment of a permanent President of the Council.

Regulations were next framed defining the financial relations of the Council of the Colony to the Directors at home, wherein, among other matters, it was provided that, in return for the fleet of five ships and relative stores, &c., which

would be tedious; wherefore I desire you may accept of this in short—

I. *James Cunningham* led the Van; he had been a Major in the Scotch forces, and disbanded on the peace; a Pillar of the Kirk, and never out of Scotland before.

II. *Daniel Mackay*, a Scrivener's or Writer's Clerk, newly come out of his Apprenticeship, but a youth of good parts.

III. *Wm. Veitch*, a man of no trade, but advanced to this post on the account his father was a godly Minister and a Glorifier of God, I think in the Grassmarket."

(*Note.*—Herries is in error here. The Rev. William Veitch, the father, died, after long illness, in May 1722, having completed his eighty-second year.)

"IV. *Robert Jollie*, a jolly Scotch overgrown Hamburger, who was formerly a Skipper, and used to the Shetland trade, but had for some dozen years been set up at Hamburg in quality of Merchant, and after that a Broker, and now a Councellor.

V. *Robert Pennycook*, formerly a Surgeon in the English Navy, then a Lieutenant, and afterwards Commander of a Bomb; this gentleman having gained experience by being 21

the Directors were to hand over, the Council were to pay annually to the Company the sum of £7000. This yearly payment could be made void at any time by a payment down of £70,000, the capital value which was placed on the ships, &c.

Herries, in his 'Tract,' roughly estimates that, at this time, the Company had spent or otherwise parted with the whole call-money paid in, nearly £100,000, thus :—

> years from Scotland in several trades or occupations, he was, by a stratagem of an acquaintance of mine, called home to take this post upon him about 6 or 7 weeks before we sailed, and was advanced by the interest of the Kirk party, the better to balance that of the Church, and to keep out Dr M——, a reputed Atheist, who would certainly have debauched both. Mr Pennycook was not only Councellor, but likewise Captain, Commodore, and the very Orford of our Navy.
>
> VI. *James Montgomerie*, whose designation I cannot well tell, but you may know him by the story of the bloody fight he had with the Spaniard, where so many hundred were killed and taken prisoners, though at the same time there was never a Spaniard hurt. This gentleman was formerly an Ensign in the Scots Guards, but not liking that office, left it and carried a brown musket in another regiment. The reasons of his preferment to this post was his grandfather's being Earl of Eglington, and his own Father by the Mother's side being Major-General Montgomerie.
>
> VII. *Robert Pincarton*, a good, downright, rough-spun Tar, never known before by any designation or State Office, save that of Boatswain to Sir William Phipps, when he was on the wreck, and now, poor fellow, a Diver in the Spanish Mines at Carthagena."

£50,000	for Ships built at Hamburg and Amsterdam.
19,000	for Cargoes of Merchandise and Materials for the Colony, including 25 per cent advance which the Company charged on each article.
8,500	balance of Smith's fraud; and the remainder
(say) 22,500	went towards Provisions, payment of the Sailors and other Servants of the Company, and discharge of the Company's Civil List, &c.
£100,000,	being the first call of 25 per cent on the stock.

The Directors next prepared and delivered to the councillors sealed sailing orders. In a separate paper the councillors were instructed, after arriving at the place of settlement named in the sealed orders, to debark the people, provisions, and merchandise, &c., and take possession of the place in the Company's name; there to build, plant, and fortify; dispose and employ the ships and men in the best manner for serving and promoting the Colony, and for the most advantage to the Company. After landing, they were with all possible speed to despatch home an exact journal of the voyage, with an account of their landing, proceedings, and also a description of the place of settlement. They were further to name their

various places of settlement after well-known places in Scotland, as they should think fit.

At Leith, on 12th July 1698, the newly appointed councillors signed the following oath of fealty :—

"The Oath appointed by the Council-General of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, to be taken by the Councillors appointed, or to be appointed, for the Government of their intended Colony in the Indies—

"We do solemnly promise and swear, in presence of Almighty God, that we shall be faithful and just to the trust reposed in us by the said Company, and shall to the best of our knowledge and skill endeavour to promote the benefit of the said Company and interest of the said Colony, as we shall answer to God.

J. CUNNINGHAM (of Eickett, *Major*).
ROBERT JOLLY (*Captain*).
DAN. MACKAY.
J. MONTGOMERIE."
ROBT. PENNICUIK (*Captain*).
ROBT. PINCARTON (*Captain*).
WILL. VEITCH (*Captain*).

It will be observed that Paterson's name does not appear among the signatory councillors. In virtue of his past services, and his capacity for strong and prudent government, he ought to have been appointed to the position of presiding member of the Council. The Directors found out afterwards that the man whom they had

banished from their counsels was the one who alone, if such had been possible, could have saved the ill-starred scheme from failure. In a letter to the Rev. Alexander Shields, written after the first abandonment of the Colony, dated Edinburgh, 6th February 1700, Paterson says:—

"In short, our Tarpolian Councillors and raw heads and undigested thoughts ruined us, and the difficulties I had met with in Scotland were turned to brow-beatings in Caledonia. . . . There was not one of the old Councillors fit for government, and things were gone too far before the new [election] took place."

CHAPTER V.

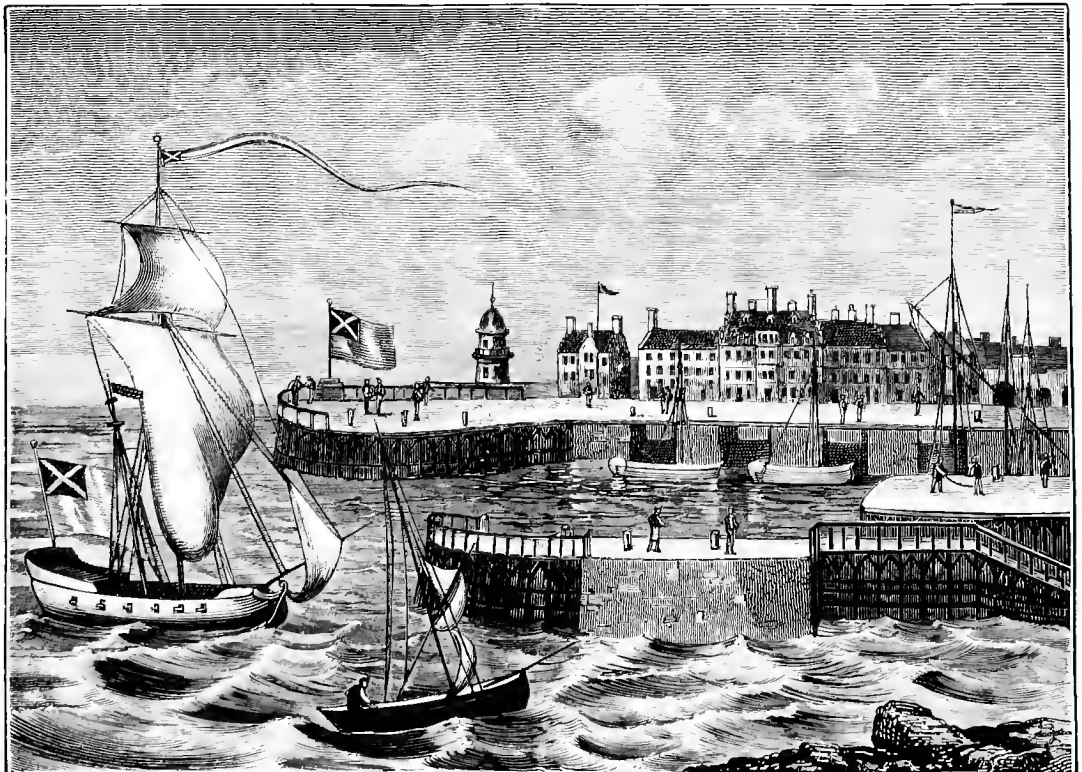
THE EXPEDITIONS TO DARIEN.

FIRST EXPEDITION.

Owing to mismanagement in the preparations and want of funds, it was not until two years after the Company's subscription books at Edinburgh and Glasgow had been closed that the first expedition to Darien was ready to sail from Leith Roads. The Company's fleet consisted of five vessels :—

The *St Andrew*—(Commodore) Captain Robert Pennicuik. The *Unicorn*—Captain Robert Pinkerton. The *Caledonia*—Captain Robert Drummond.	Carrying from 46 to 70 guns apiece.
The *Endeavour* (Pink). The *Dolphin* (Snow).	Advice yachts or tenders, laden with provisions, military stores, and merchandise.[1]

[1] "*St Andrew*, our first Tutelar was he,
The *Unicorn* must next supporter be,
The *Caledonia* doth bring up the rear
Fraught with brave hardy lads devoid of fear ;
All splendidly equipt, and to the three
The *Endeavour* and the *Dolphin*, handmaids be."
—"Caledonia Triumphans."



LEITH HARBOUR, ABOUT 1700.

From an oil-painting in the Trinity House, Leith.

Sir John Dalrymple's lively and time-honoured description of the embarkation, as the ships got under way, is well known:—

"On the 26th[1] of July, of the year 1698, the whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith to see the Colony depart, amidst the tears and prayers and praises of relations and friends, and of their countrymen. Many seamen and soldiers whose services had been refused, because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions. Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships."

Besides those who assembled on the pier of Leith to give the emigrants a hearty send-off, a crowd of interested spectators lined the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, and from that "coigne of vantage" they watched the ships as they sailed down the estuary of the Forth, until they dwindled away in the distance, and finally disappeared on the water's edge.

Although Paterson was really the projector of the expedition, and ought to have been its leader, he was not invited to accompany it in any official position. Notwithstanding this great slight from the Directors of the Company, such was his generous nature and his desire to further the

[1] The fleet would appear to have sailed from Leith on the 17th July, and not on the 26th, as stated by Sir John Dalrymple.

objects of the scheme that he resolved to join the expedition in the private capacity of a "volunteer." Accordingly he went on board the *Unicorn* on 16th July, accompanied by his wife, her maid, and Thomas Fenner, his clerk. With his usual precaution, he waited on Commodore Pennicuik, commander of the *St Andrew*, and ventured to suggest that an inspection of the stores on board the fleet should be made, in order that, should any deficiency be found, it might be reported to the Directors in time and put right before the ships weighed anchor. In reply, the Commodore told him that he knew his own business best.

After they had been four days at sea, however, the councillors were summoned on board the *St Andrew* to hold an inspection of the stores.[1] Reports from the pursers of the various ships were submitted, when, after scrutiny, it was discovered that in place of nine months' provisions, as given out by the Directors, the fleet had stores for six only. In addition, it was

[1] Herries, in his 'Tract' (p. 46), states that it was on his suggestion that this inspection of the provisions took place, and that he was ordered by the Council to make a report how long the stores would hold out. He reported that he "could not make above five months and a half of any provisions except stock-fish, of which there was full eleven months, and that at four days of the week, but had not above four months' butter and oil to it." In another place (p. 45) he states that the shortage arose from the fact that a third of the provisions had been used during the time the ships were lying idle before sailing.

found that a large quantity of the bread was made of "damnified" wheat, and that some of the other provisions were rendered unusable through bad packing. In consequence of this discovery, all on board the squadron were forthwith put on short allowance.

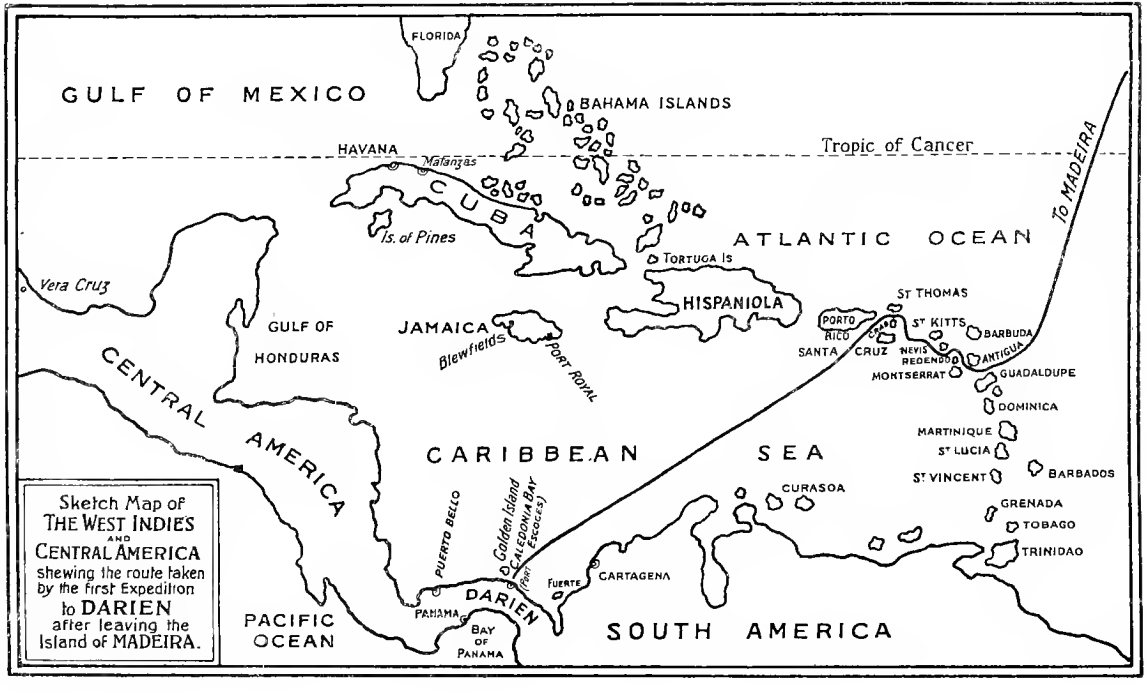
The Council designed to put into the Orkneys with a view to sending an express to the Directors intimating the shortage in the provisions; but meeting with foggy and bad weather when passing these islands, they were obliged to proceed without accomplishing this. The ships coasted round the north of Scotland, the purpose being to make Madeira their place of rendezvous, where their sealed orders were to be opened. Up to this time the commanders of the various ships were in ignorance of their precise destination, having been shipped by the Company ostensibly for Guinea and the West Indies.

Towards the end of August Madeira was sighted, and on the 29th, after landing, the Council forwarded letters to the Directors at home by way of Holland and Lisbon. They advised them of their prosperous voyage so far, and intimated the unexpected deficiency in the provisions, accompanying this with a pressing request that the needful supplies be forwarded with all possible speed.

During their four or five days' rendezvous

at Madeira, the Council, with the various ships' monies, purchased twenty-seven pipes of wine and some provisions; while the officers and gentlemen-volunteers, in consequence of their short allowance on board, were glad to exchange their scarlet coats, cloaks, and swords for extra provisions and wine.

At the time of sailing from Leith, Captain William Veitch, one of the seven original councillors, although he had taken the oath of office, was prevented at the last moment from joining the expedition, and the remaining councillors, on reaching Madeira, took the opportunity of filling up the vacancy by assuming Paterson in his place. At Madeira also the Council broke open their sailing orders, which directed them to call first at Crab Island, in the vicinity of Porto Rico. At Crab Island they consulted their second sailing orders, which contained instructions to steer for Golden Island, in the Bay of Acla, near the Gulf of Darien, their ultimate destination. They proceeded thither, and, after careful soundings, cast anchor in a fine natural harbour four miles to the east of Golden Island. On 3rd November they landed and took possession, and shortly thereafter obtained the sanction of the native chiefs to settle among them.



Sketch Map of THE WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA shewing the route taken by the first Expedition to DARIEN after leaving the Island of MADEIRA.

The following journal, taken from the 'Darien Papers,' gives an interesting description of the voyage after leaving Madeira, the arrival at Darien, and the first settlement of the Colony in the new world. The journal appears to be the official account of the progress of the expedition from day to day, and the writer of it, Mr Rose, seems to have occupied the position of Secretary to the Council in the Colony.

MR ROSE'S JOURNAL.[1]

JOURNAL OR DIARY OF THE MOST REMARKABLE THINGS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE SCOTS AFFRICAN AND INDIAN FLEET, IN THEIR VOYAGE FROM THE ISLAND OF MADERA TO THEIR LANDING IN AMERICA, AND SINCE THAT TIME.

September 2nd, 1698.—We weighed anchor from Madera road, the Governor having been very civil to us; the Comadore gave him 15 guns, Capt. Pinkerton 13, and Capt. Drummond 11, all which he particularly returned with two less. Wee had a fresh breese at E.N.E., and stood away W.S.W.

. . . . . .

Sep. 10. This morning wee passed the Tropick of Cancer with a fresh and fair gale; the ships performed

[1] The "points" denote portions which it was deemed judicious to omit, what is here given being sufficient for the purpose of the narrative.

the usual ceremony of ducking several of the Ships Crew who had not passed before; they were hoisted to the main yard arm, and let down 3 several times with a soss into the sea, out over head and ears, their legs being tyed somewhat closs, which was pretty good sport.

. . . . . .

Sep. 29.[1] . . . . .

Sep. 30. Moderate gales and fair weather; at 6 in the morning wee made the Islands of Antigo and Monsirat, at noon the Island of Redondo, being a small island, or rather a rock like the Bass; bore S.S.E. halfe a mile distant, and the Island of Nevis N.W. and B.W. 4 leagues. It is a very pleasant-like Island; the fort hoisted their flag and wee our Colours.

1 *October*. Moderate gales and fair weather. At 6 last night the west end of St Christophers bore N. ½ E. distant 4 leagues. This day at noon the S.E. end of Sta Cruze bore W. ½ N. distant 7 leagues.

2. Yesterday the Council met on board the *Comadore*, whene it was resolved that Captain Pinkertoun in the *Unicorn*, with the *Snow*, and Mr Paterson, should be immediately despatched for the Island of St Thomas, being a free port of the Danes, in order to get pilots for the Main and what intelligence were possible of the state of Darien. Accordingly, at 6 at night they parted from us. Wee steered directly for Crab Island, which wee made in the morning, bearing N.W. ½ distant 5 leagues.

[1] "29*th September*. Walter Johnstoun, Chirurgeon's Mate, died. He contracted a fever, and got his hands on *ladanum liquidum*, and took too large a dose, and so he slept till death."—Journal in 'Analecta Scotica,' vol. i. p. 355.

3d. This morning wee went ashoare and took possession of the Island in the name of the Company of Scotland Trading to Affrica, &c. Wee left some of our people ashoare all night, and stood of to sea, it looking like bad weather, much thunder, lightning, and rain.

4. In the forenoon our men came on board, and wee bore away to Leeward, where is the best anchoring. About halfe an hour past 4, in Frenchman's bay, wee saw a sloop with Danish colours, with a tent on shoare with the same hoisted on the top of it. Wee imediatly stood in and anchored closs by her. The Commadore sent to know quhat she was and her business there, who answered, they were Danes with a Governour and 15 men sent by the Gouernour of St Thomas, to assert the K. of Denmark's right to that Island, and to protest against our having any thing to do there. This sloop was dispatched away as soon as possible after Captain Pinkertoun's arrival there, viz. on Sunday at 2 o'clock, but we landed that morning by 8; so that wee told them they came too late. However, they offered their protest, as did the Governour of St Thomas, to Captain Pinkertoun; this they owned was matter of form, and what they were obliged to do to please the Court; but wished with all their hearts wee settled there, for then they wold have a bullwark between them and those of Portorico (a rich and large Island and very populous very near) who were very troublesome neighbouring. These 24 hours wee have had much wind, with thunder, lightning, and great rain.

Oct. 5. This day Captain Pinkertoun arrived with the *Snow*, and brought one Captain Allison with him, who freely offered to go along with us to Golden Island. This man is one of the eldest Privateers now alive, and

commanded a small ship with Capt. Sharp when they went into the South Sea over the Isthmus; he was likewayes at the taking of Panama, Portobello, Chagres, and Carthagena.[1] All the time we stayed here the *St Andrew* had a tent on shoare with the Companyes Colours flying on it, and 60 men for a guard when we filled our water.[2]

This evening came in a Sloop commanded by one Moon. Captain Allison was concerned in her in 2000 pound. She was loaded with flower, beeffe, and other goods. Wee endeavoured to drive a bargain with him for some provisions, but his prices were too high. Much wind, with great rain, thunder, and lightning.

6 *Octr.* The weather continues very bad. The Sloop sailed in the afternoon, being bound to Corassao, and from thence was for Carthagena with slaves; he designs afterward for Portobello, and promised to call at us in passing.

7. At 4 in the morning wee weighed and got under sail, having filled our water, and got our sick men, tent,

[1] *5th October.* No one connected with the fleet had ever visited Darien before this time. Old Captain Allison, however, knew the Isthmus well, and now came on board to accompany the expedition to their destination at Darien in the capacity of pilot. Eighteen years before this, in 1680, when the English Buccaneers, under Captain Sharp, made their famous march across the Isthmus, Captain Allison, along with Captain Macket and thirty-three men, remained behind at Golden Island, on the Gulf side of Darien, to guard the Buccaneers' ships, consisting of seven vessels of force, in the absence of their freebooting brethren.

[2] The visit of the Darien Company's fleet to Crab Island had unfortunate results. They took in water which proved very unwholesome. A violent flux seized many of the emigrants, causing much mortality.

and guard off from the shoare. At 8 at night wee took our departure from the S.E. end of Portorico, bearing W. ½ N. distant 5 leagues—squaly weather. . . .

19*th.*[1] . . . . . .

23*rd.*[2] . . . . . .

28. This day fair but squales of wind and rain in the night. At 6 last night the Island Fuerte bore E. ½ S. distant 2 leagues. This is a low Island about a mile long, full of trees, which may be seen 7 leagues of; there is good anchoring on the South side, and very good water.

29. The weather squaly. The other day when at anchor wee tryed the current and found it set N.E. 36 miles in 24 hours.

30. Fair weather. At 6 at night the *St Andrew* and *Unicorn* anchored in a fine sandy bay about 3 leagues to the westward of the gulfe of Darien. There came 2 Canoas with several Indians on board. They were very free and not at all shey. They spoke some few words of English and indifferent Spanish. Wee gave them victuals and drink, which they used very freely, especially the last. In their cups wee endeavoured to pump them, who told they had expected us these two years; that wee were very welcome, and that all the countrey was at warr with the Spaniard. They got

[1] "19*th October*. We frequently wash the ship with vinegar and then smoked, being at present very sickly."

[2] "23 *October* (Sunday). We have had great rain, thunder, and lightning, and great squalls of wind, which broke the *Dolphin's* mast by the board. About 9 at night Mr Thomas James, one of our ministers, a very good man, died of a fever, and is much lamented, and had four dropping guns fired at his throwing over."—Journal in 'Analecta Scotica,' vol. i. p. 360.

drunk and lay on board all night. In the morning when they went away wee gave each an old hat, a few 2 penny glasses, and knives, with which they seemed extremely pleased. The *Caledonia* and *Snow* stood off to sea all night.

31. These 24 hours with land and sea breezes. This morning we went in Boats to Carret Bay, which is about 2 leags to the westward of the place where wee anchored last in, to view the bay and endeavour to get intelligence of Golden Island; wee being at a loss, for none of us knew the Land. Here wee met our friends that were aboard, who informed us that Golden Island was some few leags further to the westward. Fair weather with land and sea breezes.

Novr. 1. These 24 hours fair weather with land and sea breezes. In the forenoon wee anchored within halfe a mile of Golden Island. In the afternoon wee went in our boats to sound all about Golden Island, which wee did with great exactness, but found it not convenient for our shipes, there not being room enough about the point of the main for ships of our length to swing in. 'Tis true there is room enough near the Island, but then wee might be attacked by the greatest [*sic* in MS.] either from Eastward or Westward, for they can come in both wayes, nor is ther a drop of water within a mile of the point. On the main and all the bay round full of mangrow and swampy ground, which is very unwholesome. As wee went to sound, wee saw a flag of truce waved in the bottom of the bay. Wee went thither and found about 20 Indians with bowes and lances, but upon our approaching they unstrung their bowes in token of friendship. Wee made one of our men swim ashoare (while we lay off upon our oars) to know their

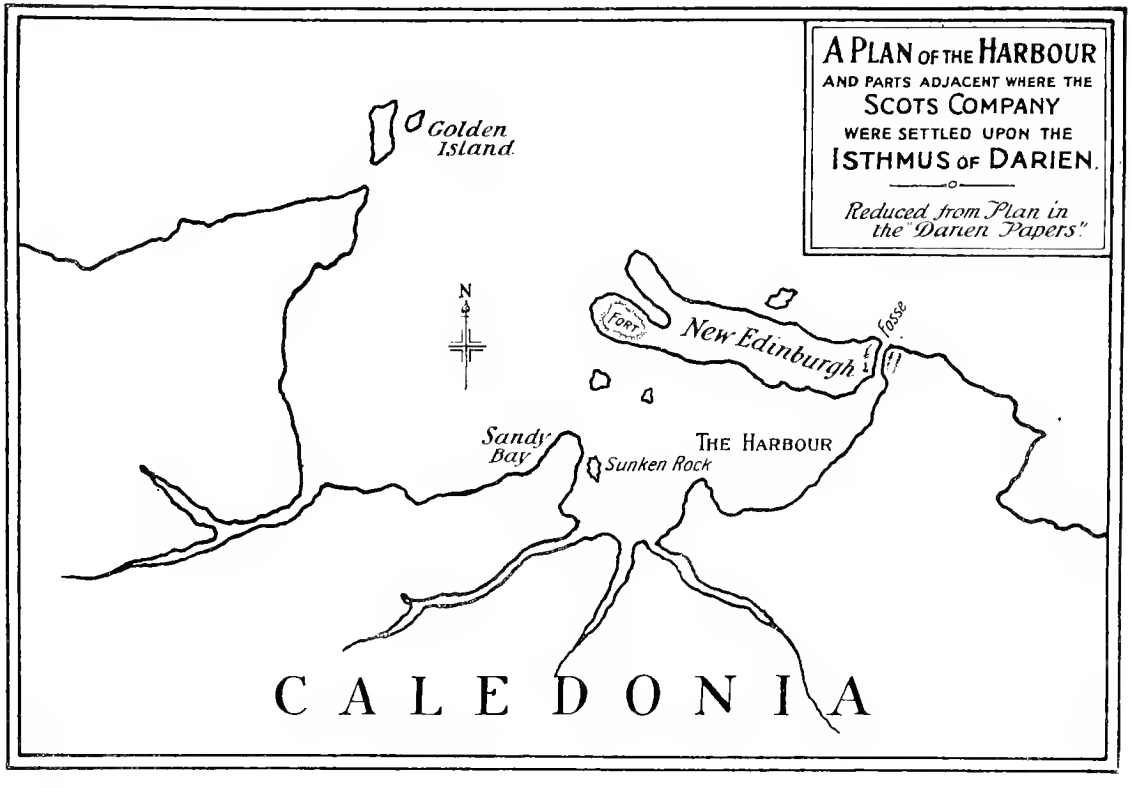
meaning. They desired us to come ashoare, but we did not think it fit. Then they told us that to-morrow one of their greatest Captains wold be on board of us—so we parted.

2*d.* This morning according to what was said, came on board one Captain Andreas with 10 or a dozen along with him. He inquired the reason of our coming hither and what wee designed. Wee answeared, our design was to settle among them if they pleased to receive us as friends, our business was trade, and that we wold supply them from time to time with such comodities as they wanted, at much more reasonable rates than either the Spaniard or any other could do. He inquired if wee were friends to the Spaniard. Wee made answear that wee had no warr with any Nation; that if the Spaniard did offer us no affront nor injury, wee had nothing to say to them; but otherwayes wee wold make open war with them. This they seem'd pleased with all, still beleeving us to be privateers, and our design upon the South Sea. He began to run out upon the praises of Captain Swain and Captain Davies, two English privateers, who he said were his particular friends, and whom he knew in the South Sea. Wee received it coldly, and assured him wee were upon no design, beleeving it to be a pump, as wee found by the mens conversation. Wee gave him a hat braded with broad gold galoo, with some toyes, so wee parted for that time. He (as generally all the people are) is of a small stature. In his garb he affects the Spaniard, as also in the gravity of his Cariage. He had a loose red stuff coat on, with an old hat, a pair of white drawers, but no shoes nor stockens.

. . . . . .

Novr. 3*d.* Yesterday in the afternoon, wee went in our boats to sound a bay 4 miles to the eastward of Golden Island, and found it a most excellent harbour.[1] The harbour is within a great bay lying to the westward of it, made by Golden Island and a point of land bearing from thence east about a league. From that eastmost point to the opposite one is a random cannon shot, and in the middle of the entry lyes a rock about 3 feet above the water, on which the Sea beats furiously, when the wind is out and blowes hard. This looks terrible (when in the bay) to those who know not the place well, but in both sides of this rock is a very good and wide Channel, that to the southward being about 3 cable-lenth breadth, with 7 fathom water closs to the rocks nose, and the other to. the northward near 2 cables lenth. There is a small rock under water, a little within the points bearing off of the southermost S.S.W. and of the northermost S.S.E. and of the rock without S.E. & B.E. From these two outwardmost

[1] 3*rd November.* The Emigrants fixed on this place—Acta—at an equal distance between Portobello and Carthagena, and about four miles east from Golden Island, as the site of their plantation or settlement, which they patriotically named Caledonia, and the anchorage they named Caledonia Bay. The extreme point of the peninsula, situated on the Eastern side of the entrance to the harbour, consisted of a flat sandy piece of ground, of about 30 acres in extent, which they christened by the name of New Edinburgh, the intended Capital of Caledonia. On this ground they erected a battery of 16 guns, to command the harbour entrance, calling it Fort St Andrew. At the narrowest part of the peninsula, 180 paces, they made a deep cutting to let in the sea, thus converting New Edinburgh into an island, and at the same time safely securing the City and the Fort. The Scottish character of the place is preserved upon the maps to this day in the name of *Port Escoces.*


A PLAN OF THE HARBOUR
AND PARTS ADJACENT WHERE THE
SCOTS COMPANY
WERE SETTLED UPON THE
ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.
Reduced from Plan in the "Darien Papers"
Golden Island
N
Fort St. Andrew
New Edinburgh
Fosse
Sandy Bay
Sunken Rock
THE HARBOUR
CALEDONIA

points, the harbour runs away east a good league, and near the middle on the right hand the land sets out, so that its not a musquet shot over, and thus farr there is not less than 6 fathom water with a very good easy ground, and here you ride landlocked every way that no wind can possibly hurt you. Within this to the bottom of the harbour, till within a cables lenth of the shoare, wee have not less than 3 fathom water, nor can a hurrycane make the least sea there. The land on the left hand coming in is a peninsula and about 3 miles long, very high and steep towards the Sea, where it will be extremely difficult for any body to land till ye come to the Isthmus, where is a small sandy bay. Small ships may ride but this by a good ditch and fort may safely be secured. The westermost point towards the harbour is low and very fit for a battery to command the entry, which wold be excellently secured by another on the opposit shoar. The land on the Pen-Insula is extraordinary good, and full of stately trees fit for all uses, and full of pleasant birds, as is also the opposit shoar, and hath several small springs which wee hope will hold in the dryest season. But on the other side there are 4 or 5 fine rivers that never do dry. This harbour is capable of containing 1000 of the best ships in the world, and with no great trouble wharfs may be run out to which ships of the greatest burthen may lay their sides and unload. This morning Captain Andreas came on board again with his traveling wife, having in all four. Polygamy being here allowed, every one may have as many as he can maintain. He was still on the pump as to our design, but when he found our account all of a peece, he told us that the English after they had been very friendly with them,

had several times caryed away their people, and that was the reason that Captain Pedro (whom he promised to bring aboard with him, when last here) wold not ventur till he were better assured of our integrity. He likewayes told us that there were some French who lived among the Indians towards the Samballas to the westward. Fair weather. This day wee landed and took possession.[1]

Novr. 4. The weather fair, with land and sea breeses. This forenoon wee weighed and got in to the harbour, but the *Unicorn* unhappily struck on that sunken rock within the heads, and beat of some of her sheathing. There were 40 men sent from each ship to clear away and make huts for our sick men.

5. Wee sent all our sick ashoare, and sent 30 men more from each ship to clear away. The Council met and went to view the most proper place for a Fort. Fair weather.

6. Fair weather. This morning arrived a canao with one Frenchman, 2 Creolians of Martinico, and 4 Indians; as also a periager with Captain Ambrosio and Captain Pedro, who live about 16 leagues to the westward.

. . . . . .

Novr. 7th. The weather fair, with small breeses. Our people are imployed in making of huts and clearing away ground.

8. The wind and weather as above. There hath

[1] Another account states that the first thing that the emigrants did on landing was to hold a thanksgiving service to God:—

> "What should they do but sing His praise,
> Who led them through the watery maze?"

been a great number of Indians on board ships, whom wee use very kindly, and who consume a great deal of liquor.

9. The weather as above.

10. This day Captain Andreas dined on board the Comadore with his first wife and his sister; they are generally of a small size as well as the men; their features are indifferent (bating their colour), only their eyes are somewhat too small. They had a single cloath wrapt about them in form of a peticoat made of cotton, with a sort of a linen mantle about their shoulders; a great many beads about their necks and arms, with large gold rings put through the gristle that divides their nostrils; they are very submissive to their husbands, who notwithstanding are very kind to them. They told there had been a skirmish between the Indians of the Gulph and the Spaniard. That the last had killed about 20 men, and had taken as many women for slaves. That they knew of our being here and were exceeding angry with them for making friendship with us. Fair weather.

11. The people ashoare are imployed in making of huts, clearing way, &c., and those on board in ordering their holds, overhauling their rigging, blocksails, &c.

12. Much rain in the night.

13. Much rain in the morning. Wee saw a ship Saturday to the westward, which wee beleeved to be Captain Lang in the *Rupert prize*, who wee heard was in the Gulph of Uraba.[1]

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[1] 13*th Novr.* This was Captain Richard Long, Commander of the small man-of-war *Rupert Prize*, which had been fitted out by the English Government as a spy and with the view of forestalling the Darien Company in their occupation of the Isthmus;

14. We had sharp showers of rain with the wind round the compass.

15. It has rained very hard, and gusts of wind. This evening Captain Lang in his boat came to visit us.

16. Captain Lang dined on board the Comadore. Much rain and thunder, which hinders our work.

17. Captain Lang dined on board Captain Pinkertoun. In the evening Lang's boat went to his Sloop which lay at the Isle of Pinas. Much thunder, lightning, and rain.

18. This morning Captain Lang and Captain Pinkertoun went for the Isle of Pinas.

19. At 8 o'clock this morning Major Cunninghame, Mr Mackay, and Captain Pennycuik set out to the westward, and about 4 in the afternoon got on board Captain Lang, where they with Capt. Pinkertoun stayed all night, it blowing hard so that our longboats could not thither till next morning. Much rain, fresh gales of wind, thunder, and lightning.

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but the ship arrived too late on the scene. Captain Long acted in an unfriendly way towards the colonists. A copy of his dispatch to the Council of Trade in England concerning the Scotch Colony, written from Jamaica, was found among the Company's papers. In it he says: "They [the Scots] are in such a crabbed hold, that it may be difficult to beat them out of it. . . . I saw the settlement and order of the Scots, which appeared modest, and they declared themselves to me that they would be no harbourer of pirates, nor invade any man's settled land, but those that would disturb them they would grant letters of reprisal against them." Immediately on receipt of Captain Long's information, the English Government sent secret instructions to the Colonial Governors, which resulted in proclamations being issued by several of them against the Scots. Secretary Vernon's first dispatch to the Governor-General of Virginia is dated from Whitehall as early as 2nd January 1698/9

20. About 8 in the morning our longboats got up, together with Captain Pedro in his periager. What others have found or may think of Lang wee know, but he appears to us to be of no great reach; he has a full and ample comission, his principal design it seems was to find out wrecks and to fish. He own'd and so did all his people that his boat had not been so much as been ashoare in any place betuixt the gulfe and the Isle of Pinas, nor had he any conversation with those people, so that he can have no pretence upon our settlement. Wee left him about 10 o'clock, he said he was bound for Jamaica. This night the Councilours lay in a little bay about 2 leagues to the westward of the river Pinas. In the night time a fresh gale variable and some small showers.[1]

Novr. 21. In the morning they weighed and sounded all along the coast, and about noon found a most excellent harbour about 4 leagues to the westward of where they lay all night, capable of containing 10,000 sail of ships. It is made by an elbow of the main to the Eastward, and a range of keys about it, 10 in number, running to the Eastward above 2 leagues. To one of those called Laurence Key the greatest ship in England may lay her side to. Here the privateers used to carreen, but the inconveniency of that place is that ships may not only come in both from the Eastward and Westward, but between several of the keyes, so that it can not be defended without a great many forts as wel as men. After they had surveyed this bay they got to the river Coco. About 4 o'clock

[1] *20th November.* Mr Adam Scot, the remaining Minister, died of a Flux this day.

they landed and went to Ambrosio's house, which is a good league from the water side.[1] It stands upon the banks of this river with about 10 or a dozen lesser houses about it. Their houses are on the sea hand inaccessible in a manner, being so advantageously situat that no stranger can come at them that way by reason of the numerous unseen shoalds, small rocks, and banks.

When they came near, Ambrosio advanced about 50 pace with 20 followers, all cloathed in white loose frocks with fringes round the bottoms, and lances in their hands. He saluted them very kindly, and gave them a calabash full of liquor almost like lambswool, which they call Mischlew, being made of Indian corn and potatoes; this they get drunk with all often. Before the house about 20 paces it was very smooth and clean; the house was about 90 foot long 35 in breadth and 30 in hight; it was curiously thatched with palmetto royal, and over that, Cajan leaves; the floor was of a firm earth like Tarras, very smooth and clean; the sides were of large canes about the bigness of a man's leg, and near an inch asunder. In this house lived Ambrosio and Pedro with their whole familyes, in all about 40 persons. There was an old woman who was very stirring about the house, she seem'd to be near 60, but upon asking her age the Frenchman told she was about 120. They could not beleeve it, and were perswaded they were mistaken in the computation of time; he assured them not, and as an undenyable demonstration shewed the sixt generation of that woman's body in the house, which indeed was very

[1] For another account of this visit, see Appendix E.

surprising. She is Pedroe's grandmother; when it was assured that it was common among them to live to 150 or 160 years age, yet its observed that those of them that converse often with the Europeans and drink their strong liquors are of short life.

Novr. 22. In the morning they had some plantans, potatoes, and wild hog dresst for breakfast, after their fashion. Then Ambrosio and Pedro went out with their guns to kill some fowl for the strangers. Pedro returned with some partriges the largest and best ever they saw, being bigger than capons, and exceedingly sweet. They being afraid it wold be late took leave ere Ambrosio returned, Pedro and the Frenchman conveying them to the water side. They lay that night at the eastermost of the keyes mentioned before. Pedro did climb high cocornut trees and threw doun a great number most delicious for the juyce and kernel. They are very big. This Pedro is incredibly dexterous at the bow and arrow, which he show'd them by shooting frequently in one place; they learn their boys to shoot with blunt arrows.

23. By day light they weighed and got to the Isle of Pinas with their pinaces by noon, and at night home. Captain Lang sailed the Sunday before.

24. Much wind and rain.

25. Wind and rain as above.

27. Very much rain and wind.

28. These 24 houres there has fallen a prodigious quantity of rain.

29. Much rain with fresh gales.

30. This being St Andrew's day, the Councilors dined on board the Comadore, where Captain Andreas was invited, who being inquired at anent his having

any correspondence with the Spaniard as was reported, he ingenuously confessed that the Spaniards had been friendly to him and had made him a Captain; that he was obliged for his safty to keep fair with them; and that they assured him wee were nothing but privateers who had no design to setle, but to plunder both Spaniard and Indians and be gone in 2 or 3 months time; and if that he assisted us any way, as soon as wee were gone they should destroy him and his.

He got all possible assurance of the contrar, which he appeared to be fully satisfyed with, and desired a Comission, and to be taken under the protection of our Government with his followers, upon which he should give all his right to this part of the Country which relished wel enough. He went away and promised to return in 2 or 3 days.

December 1. Much thunder, lightning, and rain.

2. The weather continues very bad which hinders the work much.

3. Great showers of rain with much wind. Captain Andreas came this day on board the *St Andrew* where the Counciloris were. He had his Comission read to him, and expounded in Spanish, whereby the Council made him one of their Captains to command the Natives in and about his own territories, and received him and all submitting to him into the protection of their Government, he being therby obliged with his followers to obey, assist, and defend them and all their concerns upon all occasions. To all which he heartily agreed and seemed very wel satisfyed. Then the Preses of the Council for the time, did in presence of the Councilours and several others and some of the Andreas people, deliver him his Commission written

on parcement, with the Colonye's Seal and very broad gold stript and flour'd ribbon appended, joyning hands together he promising to be just and faithful to us and our interest. He had at that time given him a broad basket hilted sword and a pair of good pistols, with which he promised to defend us all to the last drop of his blood against our Enemyes. He presented the Council with a bow and a bunch of arrows as a token of his kindness and friendship. Then he and those with him got a hearty glass, and at drinking the Company at home their health, 7 guns were fired, which he took as a great favour; he stayed on board all night.

December 4. Much thunder, lightning, and rain.

5. Some wind and rain.

6. Showres of rain with squales of wind.

The sons of Captain Diego and Captain Ambrosio came and stayed with us 4 or 5 days. The natives come evry other day with plantans and yams; the common people among us buy them from them and give them small trifles for them, which they are wel satisfyed with.

7. Blustering weather with some showres.

8. Wind and weather as above.

9. Wind Northerly. Sometimes most excellent fish taken here, as also Tortoises (but very few as yet, not having time nor nets fit for them,) some of them above 2, others above 3, 00 weight: they are the best of meat. One of them will serve 100 men of reasonable appetites.

10. There is excellent Cedar trees in great abound-ance, as also Mahoggany, Yellow Sanders, Lignum vitæ, Manchinill excellent for inlaying, and many others of great use. There are hopes of finding out the Nicoragu the best of lit for Scarlet, as also Banileos is here in

great quantity, an excellent perfume and much used in the finest Cocholat, as also in this Countrey excellent fruits, such as Cocoa nuts wherof Cocholat is made. Vanelias, Sugar Canes, Mayis, Oranges, Plantans, Bonanos, Yams, Manioc and several others all very good, the ground very fertile and rich.

11. This morning came on board the Commadore a French longboat, with the Lieuetenent of the Ship she belonged to, and the purser of a Dutch. The ship to which the Lievetennent belonged is named the *Zantoigne* of 42, (had but 32 mounted,) commanded by Monsieur Vite Thomas. The Dutch ship was one of 22 guns, a trader upon the Coast. The Frenchman reported he came out in company with those that returned the Church plate to Carthagena. She is a Merchant ship, but has the King's Comission, and halfe the Company payed by the King; he was very lakey, so begg'd liberty to stop his lakes in our port which wee freely granted. The Dutch Ship being afraid of the Barlivento fleet kept him company, and likewayes desired our protection. She is richly loaded and has been upon the coast some time, yet has most of her cargo still on board, being bound to the coast of Carthagena. She must be here till the Barlivento fleet pass for Porto Bello.

12. This morning the French ship anchored near Golden Island, and the Dutchman came into the harbour, directly he saluted the Commadore with 7 guns who returned him 5.

In the afternoon the French Captain came on board; he told us all the newes on the Coast, That the President of Panama had given an account to the Governours of Carthagena and Porto Bello of our arrival and settle-

ment. The Spaniards along the whole Coast are in a wonderful consternation upon the matter. He told that 18 dayes ago one Whan Bernardo (a very rich and honest man) was sent with a longboat and 37 men by the Governour of Carthagena with a Comission to know what wee were and our design here; he was told there was nothing heard of him, so the Frenchman concluded the boat was sunk, being so old and lakey that she could hardly swim. He furder said that there were 4 sail of Ships about 50 guns each newly come from Spain, whereof the *Dartmouth* an English man-of-warr of 52 guns taken by the French was one; that they beleeved our design was upon the river Meschasippi, so were gone into the gulph of Mexico to seek us. That the Barlivento fleet was now at Carthagena, consisting of 3 sail, viz. the *General* of 56 guns, one of 36 and another of 28 guns, the *Vice-Admiral* of 40 guns being gone with a Dutch Ship of 32 guns whom they made prize, as also 2 English Sloops, for trading upon the Coast of Veracruze.

. . . . . .

Decbr. 13. In the afternoon the French ship came in, he saluted the Commadore with 9 guns who returned (he having the King's Comission and Colours) the same number, then 3 of thanks; he had also the like return, then one, and then like to that.

14. This day Captain Lang's boat came into the harbour and told us he sailed for Jamaica on Sunday last, that he had left 3 men and a woman with Captain Diego in the gulph, and that the Barlivento fleet consisting of several sail of great ships and aboundance of small veshels full of souldiers, were lying at the Burus taking in provisions in order to attack with all their

strength in a few days. This obliges us to make all dispatches with our battery. The Council have ordered their ships in a line of battle in the mouth of the harbour. Fair weather.

15. Captain Andreas sent word that the Spaniards were marching from Panama to Porto Bello, with a great number of men in order to attack us.

16. Several other Indians came in and gave the same account. The battery is going quickly on ; our men are very hearty and seem to long for a visit from Jaque, that they might have a just pretence to their gold mines not far off.

17. There is a look out made from which ships or vessels within 10 leagues can be descryed.

18. Fair weather, the fortification near finished.

19. This morning one of the men whom Captain Lang left towards the gulfe, with a boy and two Indians, came in a canao and told that a Spanish periager landing where they were, the Indians and they set upon them, and killed 7 of them ; this was found fault with (by) us, least Lang's men should be thought ours, and so wee thought to be the first breakers of peace. It was also told here that Lang had been a dayes journey from his ship among the Spanish Indians, on purpose to misrepresent us, calling us thieves and robbers and disbanded souldiers not ouned or protected by the King of England.

This day the battery was finished, 16 twelve pounders being mounted on it, and wee are now in such a condition as that nothing more is wished than a visit from Jaque.

20. The French ship came out and anchored by our Ship at the mouth of the harbour. Fair, and wind at N.B.E.

21. Some sharpe showres of rain, and a fresh gale as above; Entrenchments are making.

22. The Frenchman warpt out a little without us. Captain Paussigo of Carret bay, who is hearty and cordial to our interest, came and among other things told, that close by about 2 miles distant only, there were several gold mines, which he promised to shew, and did let some of the Councilors see few parcels of gold which he affirmed he got from thence, which was extraordinary fine.

23. Fair weather. Captain Ambrosio being upon this place tells that the Spaniard are marching with 600 of them and 200 of the South sea Indians, (who can travel through the woods,) to attack us in the night if possible, but its feared with us they will not come, but whatever be in it, the work goes wel on, the men working with much vigour and resolution. Ambrosio has been very kindly and civily used and a present given him.

. . . . . .

This day came in a small sloop loaded with flower, beefe, &c. from Jamaica. The Comander was sent by Captain Moon who is mentioned before, the Cargo was consigned to Captain Allison.

24. In the morning early the French ship got under sail—the Council not having ended their dispatches for Scotland which they designed by her. Captain Pennycook went in his pinnace to know whether he designed to come to an anchor at Golden Island or put directly to sea. The Captain had drunk pretty hard the night before with Pedro, Ambrosio, and some other of the Samballas Indians, so that he was then asleep. The wind had blown hard at No. and there came in a great

sea, and with all it fell little wind, so that she fell away to leeward a great pace, where was nothing but an Iron shoare. She had certainly been stranded on the first point, had not Captain Pennycuik made his boat get ahead and tow her. She weathered that point not twenty fathom, then was obliged to anchor in a little bay. At the Captain's desire, Captain Pennycuik sent for a long boat, an anchor, and cable, with all the pinnaces to row them out, but stayed himselfe to assist what was possible, and at the Captain's earnest desire promised to stay by him as long as he kept the ship; for the sailors being all hot headed since the night before, did not mind what their Captain said to them. The ship did ride about 3 quarters of an hour after they anchored, and then her best bower cable broke, and in halfe an hour after the small bower gave way, so ashoare she went upon the rocks, where in halfe an hour she was all to peeces, no boat daring to come near her. Captain Pennycuik was as good as his promise and stayed till he saw the Captain (who could not swim) upon a raft and gone, then took his opportunity and swam ashoare, having received some small wounds and bruises from the wreck and rocks, the sea beating on them furiously. There were 22 out of 56 drowned —tis said many of them occasioned by the weight of gold and money they had about their necks (having broke up chests); others beatt to peeces upon the rocks after they had swam ashoare. The Captain had in his round house in Gold and Silver to the value of 60,000 peeces of eight, and in goods not disposed of to the value of 30,000 Crowns.

25. The French Captain and Lieuetennent went on board the Commadore, being both extreamly bruised.

The men were dispersed into the several ships. Officers and men were sent to guard the wreck.

26. Fair weather and a good gale at N.B.E.

27. This morning the French Captain went with two divers belonging to the Ship to see what could be got from the wreck. He gets all possible assistance to save all that comes ashoare.

The foregoing journal, along with a list of deaths since leaving Scotland, was forwarded to the Directors in a letter dated 28th December. This was the Council's first communication to headquarters after landing at Darien, the delay arising from their not possessing a small coasting sloop suitable for conveying dispatches. On this occasion the Council employed a turtling-sloop (Edward Sands, master), which was returning to Jamaica after her cargo of provisions had been sold to the colonists. The bearer of the Council's dispatches—Alexander Hamilton, Accountant-General of the Colony—was deputed at this time to visit Scotland and represent to the Directors, by word of mouth, certain matters connected with the Colony which it was not thought desirable to commit to writing. One of the seven original councillors—Major Cunningham of Eickett—also took his passage in the same sloop, having severed his connection with the Colony, contrary both to his engagement with

the Directors and the wishes of his fellow-councillors.

The expedition had been timed to land in Darien in the beginning of winter,—the "dry season,"—the most healthful time of the year for Europeans to face the climate of the Isthmus.

In the letter referred to, in which the hand of Paterson can be discerned, the Council represent themselves as being highly pleased with the situation and climate of their place of settlement, and as hopeful of the ultimate success of their enterprise. The sequel showed that far too sanguine opinions of the climate and soil had been formed.

The letter runs as follows:—

NEW EDINBURGH,
CALEDONIA, 28*th December* 1698.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Our last to you was from the Maderas of the 29th of August, and sent by the several ways of Holland and Portugal, to the contents whereof we now refer, and in particular to the State of Provisions therewith sent, and which we now find doth considerably fall short even of what was then computed, by reason of the badness of the Cask. The account of the remaining part of our voyage, together with the most material transactions since, you may know by the enclosed Journal or Diary of our proceedings.

We now send you our Letters and Dispatches by

Mr Alexander Hamilton, Merchant, who takes the opportunity of passing to you by the way of Jamaica over to England, to whom we desire you would order Forty shillings Sterling to be paid Weekly, towards his expences, the time he shall stay with you negotiating our affairs.[1]

The wealth, fruitfulness, health and good situation of the Country proves for the better, much above our greatest expectations, which God Almighty seems to have wonderfully reserved for this occasion, and now to have prepared our way, and disposed the Indies to that purpose. In our passage hither several of our number have been taken from us by death (whose names we have herewith sent you) and whereof the loss of our two Ministers is the most sensible to us. We therefore entreat you would use your utmost endeavours with the General Assembly, for procuring others to supply that great want. As to the Country, we find it very healthful; for though we arrived here in the Rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several weeks together, and many sick among us, yet they are so far recovered, and in so good a state of health as could hardly anywhere be expected among such a number of Men together; nor

[1] Mr Hamilton arrived in Edinburgh on 25th March 1699, and his personal report of the voyage and settlement of the colonists gave "abundance of satisfaction" to the Directors. In addition to the 40s. per week, as desired by the Council, the Directors bestowed on him a gratuity of £118, 6s. 8d., in consideration of "his coming here express from their Colony in Caledonia, in America, with the first news of their settlement there." The Directors also commissioned him to purchase uniforms to be presented to the friendly "Captains of the tribes of natives in Caledonia, in America," for which he paid £86, 10s. 5d.

know we anything here of those several dangerous and mortal distempers so prevalent in the English and other American Islands.

In fruitfulness this Country seems not to give place to any in the world; for we have several of the fruits as Cocoa-Nuts, whereof Chocolate is made, Bonellos Sugar-Canes, Maize, Oranges, Plantains, Mangoe, Yams, and several others, all of them of the best of their kind anywhere found.

Nay, there is hardly a spot of ground here but what may be cultivated; for even upon the very tops and sides of the hills and mountains, there is commonly three or four foot deep of rich earth, without so much as a stone to be found therein. Here is good hunting and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and creeks of the Coast; so that could we improve the season of the year just now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves, but fortifying and building will lose us a whole year's planting.

By the want of sloops, or small coasting vessels, we have hitherto had no opportunity of disposing any part of the Cargo, or doing other needful things.

Since the loss of the French Ship mentioned in the Journal, we understand that the Captain had an underhand Correspondence, in tampering with some of the natives whom he intended to carry away with him, which heightens our jealousy that the French have a design upon this place, or at least to make a settlement hereabout. And we heartily wish that our Most Gracious King were truly informed of what consequence it will be both to his greatness and security, to countenance and encourage us his loyal and dutiful subjects here, that our Prince and

Country be not only deprived of so valuable a Jewel, but lest the same should fall a prey to some of our rival neighbours. This will be the Company's part to notice after these dispatches shall come to hand.

You have enclosed a List of several goods and merchandises vendable and proper for this place; our situation being incomparable for the Trade of the Coast, where (besides our Inland Trade) there is commonly but 2 or 3, or at most but 8 or 10 days' sail to the best places of Trade upon the Coast, and to the outmost considerable islands adjoining. And we desire that particular merchants in Scotland, and elsewhere, may be encouraged to trade and correspond hither, in which we hope they will sufficiently find their account.

We have also sent you a state of what supplies of Provisions, Stores and Merchant goods are absolutely necessary for the present support of the Colony, referring it to the Company to determine what reasonable consideration they will have for the sums that shall be advanced for that purpose; And we entreat that all possible expedition may be used in sending us these needful supplies; for without that we shall not only be incapable of making you suitable returns, but this hopeful undertaking, together with ourselves, will run no small risk of being inevitably lost. But however it be (by the help of God) we shall not fail to do our utmost in making speedy and suitable returns; and shall always account it our greatest honour to expose our persons, and all that's most near and dear to us, in promoting this hopeful design, as not only promising Profit and Glory to the Company, and all who are concerned with them, but as being the likeliest means that ever yet presented towards the enabling our Country-

men to revive, recover, transmit to posterity, the virtue, lustre, and wonted Glory of their renowned Ancestors; and to lay a foundation of wealth, security, and greatness to our Mother Kingdom for the present and succeeding Ages. In which we can no way doubt of your most hearty concurrence and utmost support. So praying Almighty God would bless and prosper the Company in all their undertakings. — We remain, Right Honourable, you most humble servants,

ROBERT JOLLY.
J. MONTGOMERY.
DAN. MACKAY.
ROB. PENNICOOK.
ROB. PINCARTON.
WILL. PATERSON.

P.S.—We entreat you to send us a good Engineer, who is extremely wanted here. This place being capable of being strongly fortified. You'll understand by our's from Maderas, the Danger as well as the Tediousness of our Passage North-about, so that if the Ships can conveniently be fitted out from Clyde, it will save a good deal of time in their passage and be far less hazardous.[1]

The list of deaths accompanying the preceding letter was afterwards printed in Edinburgh

[1] On the same day—28th December 1698—the Council issued a Proclamation or Declaration, addressed to the world, from "New Edinburgh," announcing the principles on which their Colony of Caledonia was to be conducted. They declared that it was to be a free port, with full liberty of conscience in matters of religion to all nations. (For full text of the Declaration, see Appendix B.)

and circulated by the Directors in the following form :—

AN EXACT LIST OF THE MEN, WOMEN, AND BOYS THAT DIED ON BOARD THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN COMPANY'S FLEET during their Voyage from Scotland to America, and since their landing in CALEDONIA. Together with a particular account of their qualities, the several Days of their Deaths, and the respective Distempers or Accidents of which they Died.

Note.—By "Volunteers" are meant such young Gentlemen as went in no particular station, but only in hopes of preferment as opportunity should offer.

Date.		Name.	Quality.	Distemper or Accident.
1698				
July	23	Alexander Piery .	A Planter	Fever
Augt.	8	Daniel Martin .	A Sailor	Flux
	22	Robert Donaldson .	Planter	do.
	30	George Menzies .	do.	do.
Sep.	11	John Forrester .	do.	do.
	16	James Dunnie. .	do.	do.
	19	Robert Hardy .	Volunteer	Fever
	21	John Stewart . .	do.	do.
		Robert Baillie . .	Planter	do.
	23	John Smith . .	Sailor	do.
	25	Alexander Elder .	do.	do.
	27	Jeromy Spence .	do.	do.
	28	Andrew Baird . .	do.	Flux
	29	Walter Johnstoun .	Chirurgeon's Mate	Fever
Oct.	1	John Duffus . .	Sailor	do.
	5	Thomas Dalrymple .	Planter	do.
	7	James Paterson .	Volunteer	Flux
	10	Charles Hamilton .	Midshipman	do.
	11	Jacob Yorkland .	Volunteer	do.

Date.		Name.	Quality.	Distemper or Accident.
1698				
Oct.	15	James Davidson .	Planter	Flux
	16	Henry Charters .	Volunteer	do.
	19	Lieutenant John Hay's Wife		do.
	20	Adam Hill . .	Planter	do.
		Walter Eliot . .	Midshipman	Fever
	22	Adam Cunningham.	do.	do.
		Adam Bennet . .	do.	do.
	23	Mr Thomas James .	Minister	do.
		Peter Macintosh .	Sailor	do.
	24	John Daniel . .	Planter	Flux
	25	David Henderson .	Sailor	do.
		James Graham .	Volunteer	do.
	26	William Miller .	do.	Fever
	27	John Chiesly . .	do.	Flux
	28	Mr John Malbon .	Merchant	Fever
		Alexander Tailor .	Sailor	do.
		Robert Gaudie .	Planter	Flux
		John Aird . .	do.	Decay
		Lieutenant Hugh Hay		Fever
		Peter Paterson .	Sailor	Flux
		James Montgomery .		do.
	31	John Luckison .	Volunteer	do.
Nov.	1	David Hay . .	do.	do.
	2	Thomas Fenner .	Clerk to Mr Paterson	Fever
	3	Lieutenant James Inglis		
		AFTER LANDING.		
Nov.	5	Hugh Barclay .	Sailor	Fever
		Henry Grapes . .	Trumpeter	do.
	6	Archibald Wright .	Volunteer	Flux
	7	James Clark . .	do.	do.
	9	James Weems. .	do.	do.
	11	John Fletcher. .	Planter	do.
	14	Mr Paterson's Wife.		Fever
	15	Archibald Mosman.	Volunteer	Flux
	16	John Cannie . .	Sailor	do.
		John Sim . .	do.	do.
	20	Mr Adam Scot .	Minister	do.

Date.		Name.	Quality.	Distemper or Accident.
1698				
Nov.	22	Roger Munckland .	Volunteer	Flux
		Andrew Hamilton .	Midshipman	Fever
	24	William Baird .	Sailor	Flux
	27	James Young . .	do.	Fever
	29	James Montgomery.	Planter	Flux
Dec.		John Burrel . .	Sailor	do.
	3	James Borthwick	do.	Fever
	6	David Miller . .	Planter	Flux
		Ensign William Hallyburton		do.
	7	William Erskine .	Planter	do.
	8	Robert Bishop .	Chirurgeon's Mate	do.
	10	Recompence Standburgh, one of the Mates on board the *St Andrew*		Fever
	11	Robert Pendreick .		Drowned
		William Tenter .		
		William Maclellan, a Boy		
		David White . .	Planter	Fever
	17	William Barron .	do.	Flux
	24	Alexander White .	Planter	Fever
		Andrew Brown, a boy on board the French Ship		Drowned
		Peter Telfer . .	Planter	Flux
	25	Captain Thomas Fullarton	Commander of the *Dolphin*, after warm walking	Died suddenly

This is a true List compared by me,

ROD. MACKENZIE,
Secy. to the said Company.

No doubt, every one will justly regret the loss of his own nearest friend, but it's a great and general Mercy

that of so many as went crowded in Five Ships, upon so long and tedious a voyage as they had, so few are dead; Especially considering, that on their way they had the misfortune of taking in bad Water upon an uninhabited island, in the beginning of the Rainy Season, which occasioned general sickness among them; tho' soon after their Landing in Caledonia (thanks be to God) they recovered their health so much (even beyond expectation) that, when the Express came away, there were but five of all our men who were not at work in building of Forts and Houses. And as even a greater number of so many as went, might have died by this time, had they all remained at home, so it may be some satisfaction to the nearest friends of the deceased that their names shall stand upon Record as being among the first brave Adventurers that went upon the most noble, most honourable, and most promising undertaking that Scotland ever took in hand.

From the foregoing list it will be noticed that Paterson had the great grief to lose his wife by fever shortly after landing in Darien. She was buried with solemn honours, some dropping-guns being fired on the occasion. A few days previously his clerk, Thomas Fenner, an Englishman, had also died.[1] Yet in spite of these domestic bereavements, he did not bate a jot of heart or hope, but with manly fortitude continued his unwearied efforts on behalf of the Company.

[1] On 7th October there appears in the list of deaths the name of "James Paterson, Volunteer." It has been surmised by some writers that this young gentleman was Paterson's only child, but we have been unable to find any confirmation of this.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITIONS TO DARIEN.

FIRST EXPEDITION—*continued.*

We need not detail here the various events connected with the first occupation and abandonment of Darien, as these are narrated in Paterson's special Report to the Directors which follows. Suffice it to say that on the 20th of June 1699, within eight months of the date of their landing, the surviving settlers, now reduced to less than 900, hurriedly evacuated Darien. Paterson, who was seriously ill at the time, protested strongly against the abandonment. He was the last man to leave Darien, and had to be carried on board the *Unicorn*. After a disastrous voyage, during which many on board succumbed, he arrived at New York on 14th August, but so broken in health that his life was despaired of for a time. In about two months thereafter he took his passage in the Company's ship, the *Caledonia*, bound from New York for Scotland, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 5th of December, somewhat

recovered in mind though still shattered in body. The Report referred to was drawn up at the request of the Court of Directors shortly after his return to Scotland. In addition to the details which it gives relating to the daily life of the Colony and the events which led up to its collapse, it forms a vindication of his own conduct there. Explanatory notes have been added to the Report where additional information seems desirable.

REPORT BY WILLIAM PATERSON TO THE DIRECTORS.

REPORT of Matters relating to the COLONY of CALEDONIA, made to the Right Honble. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS of the INDIAN AND AFRICAN COMPANY OF SCOTLAND.

At Edinburgh, the nineteenth day of December, 1699.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

On the sixteenth day of July 1698, I arrived on board the Company's ship the *Unicorn*, in order to my voyage in the afternoon. I went on board the *Saint Andrew;* and although I was not of the Council, yet the care and concern I had for the success obliged me to speak to Captain Pennicook for calling a Council before we set sail in order to consider how they were provided for the voyage, and to represent to this Court what might be defective: but I was answered—"I must give him leave to think that he knew his business and the instructions he had to follow," or to this purpose.

Two or three days after we sailed, the Council was called on board the *Saint Andrew*, where they found the provisions and necessaries for the voyage fall exceedingly short of what was given out or expected; whereupon the people were reduced to a much shorter allowance; and the next day the Council wrote letters signifying their condition, designing to land those letters at Orkney; but the foggy, hazy weather and currents not only prevented that, but endangered the ships, and occasioned the separation of the *Unicorn* and *Endeavour Pink* from the rest.

After our meeting at Madeira, the Council wrote their condition by way of Lisbon and Holland; but in as sparing and general terms as possible, lest these letters should be intercepted to the prejudice of our designs. These letters were dated the 29th day of August 1698.

When Captain Pinkerton and I were at the Island of St Thomas about the beginning of October, we met with one Captain Richard Moon of Jamaica, who commanded a sloop of about eighty tons. He was bound from New York to Curasao with provisions, but by the way touched at Saint Thomas, where he met with us. The man I had known in Jamaica many years before; and we persuaded him to follow us to the rest of our ships then riding at Crab Island. When he came he found our goods so dear and ill-sorted for his purpose, that, upon the conditions we proposed, he would not part with any of his provisions; upon which I represented to the Council that it might be of ill consequence for us not only to miss such a quantity of good and new provisions, but the report he might give of our goods being overrated would unavoidably be an ill

preparative for others; whereas the agreement with him, though at a dear rate, would encourage him and many more to come to us with the greater speed and earnestness; also that I had heard the goods were considerably overrated. But however it was, two or three hundred pounds' loss ought not to be put in balance with the risk of the design: which, if it miscarried, I was apprehensive the Company would, however, get but a lame account of their cargo,—Wherefore, it was better to risk a part of it upon the prospect of something than inevitably to loss it without any prospect at all. To all this I was answered, that they were not obliged to take notice of any particular man's assertions as to the over-valuing or ill buying the goods; but rather to believe the prime cost was as in the Company's invoice; and that they would not be so imposed upon by Capt. Moon. Thus Mr Moon parted from us. But before he went I took an opportunity to tell him, that by reason of the stowage in those crowded ships, he could not now have a sight of the greatest part of our Cargo; but if he and his friends would send us a sloop with provisions from Jamaica, and also come himself as soon as he could, I did not doubt but he would dispose of them to his sufficient satisfaction, which he promised to do, and had some discourse thereof with the rest of the Councillors before we parted.

During the voyage, our Marine Councillors did not only take all upon them, but likewise brow-beat and discouraged every body else, yet we had patience, hoping things would mend when we came ashore; but we found ourselves mistaken; for though our Masters at sea had sufficiently taught us that we fresh-water

men knew nothing of their salt-water business,—yet when at land, they were so far from letting us turn the chase, that they took upon them to know everything better than we.

I must confess it troubled me exceedingly to see our affairs thus turmoiled and disordered, by tempers and dispositions as boisterous and turbulent as the elements they are used to struggle with, which are at least as mischievous masters as ever they can be useful servants. To this disease I proposed as a present ease and a part of a remedy, that a President of the Council should be chosen for a month, and that the first should be a land Councillor, and that every land Councillor might take his turn before any of those of the sea should come in place. This, I reckoned, would be four months; and in this time I was in hopes that we might be able to make some laws, orders, and rules of Government, and by People's management in the time, be better able to judge who might be most fit to preside for a longer time, not exceeding a year. This my thoughts I imparted to our land Councillors; but they, like wise men, had begun to make their Court, and agreed beforehand with those of the sea that the Presidency should last but a week; and though I urged that it would be to make a mere May game of the Government, and that it would reduce all things to uncertainty and contradictions, yet this determination of the rest was unalterable. Upon which Mr Montgomery was chosen the first President; after which we began to proceed to business.[1]

[1] The dissensions among the Councillors and their deplorable mismanagement were not least among the contributory causes of failure of the settlement, and these rendered quite

The first thing fallen upon was a place of landing; but the Sea Councillors were for a mere Morass, neither fit to be fortified nor planted, nor indeed for the men to lie upon. But this was carried by main force and a great struggle, although I know no reason they had for it, unless it might be to save one of their boats the trouble, once in two or three days, to bestow three or four hours to supply the Land-men with water. We were upon clearing and making Huts upon this improper place near two months, in which time experience —the schoolmaster of fools—convinced our masters that the point now called Fort Saint Andrew was more

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useless all the efforts of Paterson towards a firm and unanimous rule in the Colony. In carrying out the weekly presidency, each Councillor seemed bent on undoing the work of his predecessor in the chair; the marine Councillors, in their double capacity of Ship-Captain and Councillor, especially lording it over the others. The Directors saw reason to alter this state of affairs when making arrangements for the second expedition. In a letter, 10th February 1700, to James Gibson, captain of the *Rising Sun*, they refer to "the unanswerable evil consequences of the Commanders of our first ships unaccountable conduct and intolerable insolence in their double capacities. Wherefore the Council-General thought fit to come to the positive resolution that, from henceforward, none of the Council should be at the same time in another capacity."

Again, in a letter to the Councillors, 13th June 1700, they say: "And the said Council-General, considering that several inconveniences and hindrances may happen in the execution of your affairs, through the too frequent changes of Presidents of your Council, have, by their Act of the 3rd instant, ordered that, upon receipt hereof, you choose a President of your own number to continue for at least six weeks, and not above three months; and that, upon the determination of that term, you choose again for the like time, and so, successively, at the determination of each term afterwards."

proper for us; upon which they appointed Captain Thomas Drummond to oversee the work, who, according to the tools he had to work with, did beyond what could be reasonably expected from him; for our men, though for the most part in health, were generally weak for want of sufficient allowance of provisions and liquors,[1] and this inconveniency upon them was the

[1] According to modern ideas, the Company would appear to have been far too lavish in their supplies of alcohol to the Colony. With every ship carrying provisions, they sent supplies of what they called "strong liquors"—chiefly rum and brandy—the free use of which, in the hot and pestilential climate of Darien, must have been prejudicial to health. The Directors seem to have looked upon brandy as one of their mainstays. In their letter to the Council, 13th June 1700, they say: "We understand that Andrew Livingston, Chirurgeon, late prisoner in Carthagena, has made his escape and returned to the Colony. We therefore desire that for the said Andrew Livingston's encouragement at present, you would order him four gallons of Brandy for his own proper use, over and above the common allowance." The Rev. Alexander Shields, one of the ministers of the second expedition, referring to Captain Gibson, commander of the *Rising Sun*, says the Captain "was indifferent how matters went, providing he got his pipe and his dram." Mr Byres and his fellow-Councillors, also of the second expedition, were very solicitous about their supplies of brandy. On 3rd February 1700, they write: "On 17th ulto. we took account of our Brandy, and finding only 60 gallons remaining, we ordered none to be given out except to such as wrought according to the daily lists of men employed; and neither officers, volunteers, or sailors are excepted; but we augmented the daily allowance of bread, meal, or flour, from ½ to ¾ lb., which we find little enough, albeit we had Brandy. We are sensible of the Brandy being embezzled and misapplied, but know not how to prove the same against James Milne our steward, that satisfaction may be got, for we have nothing whereby to instruct a charge on him, but we shall do our best." The same Councillors, after unjustly imprisoning Mr Alexander Hamilton,

harder by reason of the irregular serving of their scrimp allowances, for our marine masters continually pretended other urgent business, and so could hardly spare their boats to bring the land provisions and conveniences ashore, and many of the most needful things that I knew were only designed for the shore, were detained on board under pretence they belonged to the ships.

When we arrived first, we were, as it was, in a Prison for want of sloops, brigantines, or other good, stiff, windwardly vessels; for the *Snow* or the *Pink* were utterly unfit for that purpose, otherwise the sending home, as also to all our friends in the Plantations, ought to have been the first things done. The inconveniency of this was foreseen; but it seems could

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one of the Colony's best friends, "seized his own proper Brandy, and would not allow him any part for his own private use."

The Directors, on 10th February 1700, write to the officers of the Colony: "It's a lasting disgrace to the memory of those officers who went on the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalised at the viciousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge; whilst the most sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty. And the want of due care in an equal and moderate distribution of both provisions and liquors, but especially the latter, was none of the least causes of the misery that ensued."

In contrast with all this, it is pleasing to note that Paterson himself was an abstainer, being one of the very few Scotsmen of his day who never drank wine. Mr Bannister, his biographer, states that Paterson tried to persuade the colonists "to abstain from spirituous liquors, and the price of the allowance of Rum was to be accounted for in their favour if they would not drink it. Accordingly, among the claims for compensation, after the breaking up of the settlement, there is a formal one from a Captain Godon, on the plea of his adherence to the wise temperance pledge."

not be prevented.[1] About the twentieth of December, a sloop arrived from Jamaica, commanded by Mr Edward Sands, freighted by Captain Moon and Mr Peter Wilmot of Port Royal, and a part belonged to one Master Robert Allison, who came from aboard of Moon's sloop along with us from St Thomas Island. This sloop was consigned to Mr Allison, and in his absence to me. Upon report of her cargo, the Council ordered Captain Jolly and Captain Pinkerton to agree with Allison, which agreement was, that they should have our goods as they cost in Scotland, and we were, in lieu thereof, to have the sloop's cargo of provisions as it cost in Jamaica, and, as I remember, ten per cent advance; whereupon the sloop's provisions were put aboard one of our ships, and the goods in exchange were to be delivered by us to Captain Moon, who was expected in a month after.

Before this time, Major Cunningham, one of our number, was become so uneasy, and possessed (as we thought) by so unaccountable conceits and notions, that he gave us no small trouble, and at last would

[1] Included among the 'Darien Papers,' preserved in the Advocates' Library, there is an able letter (referred to in chapter ii.) by Mr Robert Douglas, a Scotch merchant in London. Mr Douglas enumerates, in detail, the various dangers and disadvantages which would certainly attend an occupation of Darien by the Company. As the adventure ultimately turned out, his forecast proved singularly correct. Among the minor defects in the Company's preliminary arrangements which he pointed out, was their omission to provide the Colony with small coasting sloops, and it is to the want of these vessels that Paterson refers in the above paragraph. Mr Douglas's letter was in the hands of the Directors for about two years before the first expedition sailed, so that they wittingly ignored its contents.

needs forsake not only his post, but also the Colony. This very justly offended the rest of the Councillors, considering their raw and unsettled circumstances; and some thoughts there were of detaining him by force. But after weighing his temper, they consented to his going; but thought it were prudent to part with him in friendship than otherwise, lest any that might espouse his humour in Scotland, should prove a means of retarding or frustrating our needful supplies. Upon these considerations, they gave him a general letter of recommendation, but no instructions in writing; and Mr Hamilton had also verbal orders to intimate the matter, but so cautiously as not thereby to prejudice the Colony's interest.

In order to cure as much as possible the convulsions we laboured under from the weight of our marine Governors, Mr Cunningham, Mr Mackay, and I agreed to try, before the Major went away, if we could persuade them to the admission of two or three new Councillors. But instead of complying with so reasonable a proposal, the three Gentlemen fell out into the greatest passion and disorder possible, and Mr Montgomery falling in with them, nothing could be done in it at that time.

Major Cunningham's going home proceeding not from the Council, but from himself. They proposed to send home a person who might by word of mouth represent to the Company things that could not be so well committed to writing. The Captains Pennicook, Pinkertoun, and Jolly, proposed Mr Hamilton; Mr Cunningham and I were for Mr Samuel Veitch; Mr Montgomery was for one Mr Alexander Baird; and Mr Mackay was non liquid. My reasons against

Mr Hamilton going away were, that he was appointed by the Company their Accountant-general, and indeed was the only person we had left fit for that and the management of the cargo, which at this time was in such disorder and confusion that I saw no way of bringing it into method but that Mr Hamilton, and such others as were capable to assist him, should go immediately about it; and thought Captain Veitch, or some other gentleman who could be better spared by the Colony, might be capable enough for that errand; whereas Mr Hamilton, his being taken from his station without supplying his place, would unavoidably reduce things to that disorder and confusion in which I am afraid the Company will find them when they come to inquire into the management of their Cargo.[1]

After Mr Hamilton was dispatched in Sands his sloop by way of Jamaica, a design was set on foot to send Captain Pinkerton and Captain Malloch in the *Dolphin Snow* to Curasoa, Saint Thomas, and other islands, to the windward. The design was to settle a correspondence, and to buy a sloop or two, together with rum, sugar, and other things we wanted from

[1] "We have yours of the 28th of December last, by Mr Hamilton, who arrived here, by the way of Bristol, the 25th ultimo, as also your other of the same date by Major Cunningham, who arrived here on the Friday thereafter; both which gave a general satisfaction, not only to us, but to the whole nation in general. The ministers in their several churches gave public thanks to Almighty God for your safe arrival and settlement; and the several Corporations throughout the Kingdom did testify their satisfaction by public rejoicings, such as bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all the other demonstrations of joy."—Letter from the Directors in Edinburgh to the Council in Caledonia, dated 22nd April 1699.

them. But I made objections against this voyage —First, Because in our passage from Scotland we found the *Snow* no windwardly vessel, and the north and strong north-easterly winds were not yet over, and I questioned if anything abated, and therefore I believed (as it happened), that she would never be able to get to the windward; and, in the second place, either Pinkerton or Malloch could do anything that was to be done as well as both, whom we could not well spare by reason of our scarcity of good sea officers; and in the last place, I questioned if our present circumstances would allow of thus remote adventuring of so considerable a part of our cargo; but that it should rather lie ready by us as a bait to such as should come with present supplies, which we very much wanted at this time, and, for anything I saw, were like to want much more. But to all this I was answered in the usual form, that I did not understand it.

After Captain Pinkerton was gone Capt. Moon arrived, and on board him his owner, Mr Peter Wilmot, who called for the return of the provisions we had by Sands; when we came to offer him goods by our Invoice, he said he could buy them as cheap, if not cheaper, in Jamaica, complaining that the Invoice was not a true Invoice, but the goods were over-valued above forty per cent. However, after some clamours, the Council agreed with him for thirty pound per cent abatement upon the Invoice; yet he would not let us have any more of his provisions at that rate, but parted with us, complaining that he should be a loser. It vexed me not only to see us part with such a parcel of provisions, but also for the

effect it might have to discourage others, as it afterwards happened.

As the native Indians, at our first coming, had made us several advantageous offers to undertake against the Spaniards, so now, in this month of February, they continued to alarm us with the preparations of the Spaniards, and to press us from several parts to an undertaking against them. Among these were Corbet of the Samblas, Diego of the Gulf, and Pausigo of Carreto, with others.[1]

But we still answered them, that our King was at peace with the Spaniards, and so we could not make war, unless they begun with us; but whenever they did, we would repel force by force, and assemble all the Indians and others that were willing to assist us against them. They expressed a wonderful hatred and horror for the Spaniards, and seemed not to understand how we could be at peace with them, except we

[1] Diego of the Gulf was esteemed the most powerful of the Darien captains or chiefs. He had about 3000 men under his command, and at the time the colonists landed on the Isthmus he had been at war with the Spaniards for about twelve months. On 24th February the Council entered into a perpetual alliance and federation with him, which included the other neighbouring captains and leaders of the natives. The written treaty was interpreted and explained to him, and thereafter the Secretary sealed and signed it on behalf of the Council, and Captain Diego followed by putting "his mark" upon it. A copy of the treaty in Spanish was given to him. The treaty opened with the words: "Treaty of Friendship, Union, and Perpetual Confederation, agreed and entered between the Right Hon^ble The Council of Caledonia, and The Excellent Diego Tucuapantos and Estrara, Chief and Supreme Leader of the Indians, Inhabitants of the Lands and Possessions in and about the Rivers of Darieno and S^t Matolome."

were as bad as they. It's certain this was the true season of the year for undertakings of that kind, and our people were then in health, and indifferent strong, which they happened not to be afterwards, when the Spaniards had given us sufficient provocation, and when the season was not so proper. But afterward, upon information that a great party of Spaniards were come overland, and from the south seas, to invade us, and were then at an Indian house two or three leagues from the other side of the harbour, we sent Mr Montgomery with a party of men to know the truth; but, instead of a body of Spaniards, found only a few men who were sent thither to get intelligence, who, when our men came upon them, took their opportunity to fire at them from the thickets where they were placed, and then run away, having killed two or three, and wounded some others. Our men returned the salute without any execution that we know of. This party consisted of twenty-five men, as we heard afterwards. This party had been detached from a body of fifteen hundred men, then at Tabugantee, and from thence designed to invade us by land; but, by reason of opposition from the Indians, and other obstructions they met with they afterward dispersed, and came to nothing.[1]

[1] The skirmish with the Spaniards took place on 6th February, within the territories of the friendly Indian chief Captain Pedro. The colonists numbered 100, being a levy of 20 men from each ship, and were led by Captain James Montgomerie, one of the Councillors. Under cover of the woods the Spaniards fired two volleys of small-shot, killing two of the colonists (one of whom was Ensign Alexander Swinton) and wounding other twelve. Captain Montgomerie received a wound in the thigh.

Some days after Captain Moon was gone, returned Captain Sands from Jamaica, as also arrived one Captain Ephraim Pilkington, both laden with provisions, all which the Council bought, and sent Pilkington with his sloop or shallop to trade upon the Spanish coast, while Captain Sands went a turtling for the Colony. Some days after this, Captain Pennicook and Mr Mackay had a great falling out. I endeavoured not only to compose their difference, but, if possible, to bring some good out of it. Wherefore I represented to them separately how sad and scandalous our condition was; that if any two of us had a difference, the remainder had not authority enough to reduce them to reason: therefore advised and persuaded them both to consent to the admission of two or three new Councillors. This they severally consented to, agreeing that I should move it, and that they should be seconds; and if Messrs Montgomery and Jolly did oppose it, to carry it by vote. Accordingly, I moved it, and they did second it, but so very coldly that though Mr Jolly was in the chair, and so three against one, yet I could not so much as get my motion entered, much less a liberty to protest that the majority was for it, and so it was passed of course. This motion raised me much envy and trouble, which continued a long time after.

Before Major Cunningham went away, there was something done he would have protested against. I do not remember the thing, only that I was not of his opinion as to the matter, but was for allowing him a liberty to protest, as all other Councillors ought to have had. For this I urged the custom of most civil societies in the world, and the express meaning of the Company, when they in their instructions say that one

Councillor shall not be liable to the defaults and miscarriages of the others, but every one for his own default; but, say or do what I would, there could none of them be persuaded to it; nor was protests or entries of motions or dissents at all allowed by the old Councillors; but, indeed, that doctrine was as much exploded by the new Council as ever that of passive obedience has been upon another occasion.

About the tenth or twelfth of February, within a day or two of each other, arrived two sloops from Jamaica, the one of which was commanded by Captain Mitchell, and the other by Captain Robbins. That of Robbins was consigned to me in his absence, and Mitchell was recommended. Robbins offered his provisions as soon as ever he came in, and Mitchell would also have sold his. Their main design was about fishing the French wreck at the entrance of our harbour, of which the Council acquainted this Court, and the provisions were only brought in by the bye. Our Councillors would not be persuaded in time to take these provisions; and afterwards those purse-proud fellows, having time to understand our wants by the murmurs of the people and other circumstances, took humours in their heads, and would not part with their provisions upon any account, unless we could have given them money.

At this time, in hopes the time of the strong breeze was over, or at least much abated, we sent out the *Endeavour Pink*, under the command of Captain John Anderson, and a stock of some hundred pounds value on board of her, whereof Mr Robert Allison was supercargo. She was to touch at Jamaica, and go from thence to New York, and return to us with provisions;

but, after she had beaten about a month, and not got forty leagues to the windward, she was forced to return to us again, after having become very leaky by the stress she had met with at sea.

About the beginning of March, Captain Pilkington returned from the coast of Carthagena, having had little or no trade by reason of the badness and unsuitableness of the cargo, and brought us the unhappy news of the loss of our *Snow*, and the imprisonment of Captain Pinkerton and his crew at Carthagena; of all which we advised the Company by one occasion of the sixth or seventh of March. Mr Mackay was then sick of an intermitting fever, and his life hardly expected; and, by reason of some heats that arose between Mr Pennicook and Mr Montgomery, all things seemed to be at a stand, for Mr Jolly and I had not authority to make peace between them when at variance, nor to cause them to keep it when made. I could think of nothing to cure this distemper of ours, but either an addition of Councillors, or a Parliament. About an addition of Councillors we could not agree, and we should lose time in staying for a Parliament: Wherefore it was resolved to call a Parliament as soon as possible;[1] and in the meantime, to dispatch the

[1] A Parliament was summoned on 24th April 1699, when it enacted 34 laws for the regulation of civil and criminal justice in the Colony. Several of the laws bear the mark of Paterson's enlightened and liberal mind, and others, though well-intentioned, are curious. They aim at a high tone in public morals, and the personal liberty of the subject is carefully guarded. But many of the colonists were unfit for the exercise of political freedom. Mr Mackay, one of the Councillors, wrote to the Secretary of the Company: "We found the inconvenience of calling a Parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they

Captains Pilkington and Sands to Carthagena, with a messenger and letter, to demand our prisoners and effects, and to declare that, if they refused, we would immediately grant reprisals; and accordingly, commissions were given to Pilkington and Sands, to be put in execution in case of refusal made, to Mr Alexander Macgie, our messenger; but Pennicook agreed not to sign these dispatches.

About this time Captain Pennicook began to be very uneasy, and to publish that there was not a month's provisions in the Colony, no not near enough to carry us off the coast, and this he published industriously upon all occasions; but, in order to put a stop to the clamours, at the first and second meeting of the Parliament, some of the members were appointed to take a narrow scrutiny of the provisions on board the several ships and ashore. This scrutiny lasted several weeks, and at last could never be very exactly taken, of which Pennicook himself (with whom concealed provisions were found) was none of the least occasions.

By this time, being about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of March, Mr Mackay was pretty well recovered, and the Captains Pilkington and Sands returned from Carthagena with our messenger, Mr Alexander Macgie, who brought the refusal of our prisoners and effects, and a letter from the Governor of Carthagena to that effect.[1]

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were freemen so soon; they had not the true notion of liberty; the thoughts of it made them insolent and ruined command." See Appendix C.

[1] On 5th February 1699, the *Dolphin Snow*, commanded by Captain Pinkerton, while on a voyage from the Colony to Barbadoes to barter her cargo for provisions, struck on a

They met with, and brought in their company, a New England Brigantine, which was bound to us with provisions, but had missed our port. One Philips commanded her. Two or three days afterwards, Pilkington and Sands arrived before the harbour, Captain Moon, his sloop the *Neptune*, and another Jamaica sloop, commanded by one Mathias Maltman of Jamaica. Mr Wilmot sent a canoe with a letter to me about some goods he had left to be disposed of. Whether they had any other business in, I know not; but, as I was about to answer his letter, Pennicook being President, arrested the canoe, with all the men that were in her, being twelve or fourteen. The pretence was, that Moon's sloop had carried away a boy called Skelton, and all the men stopped. Nay, Moon's sloop and all his

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rock, and not being able to be kept afloat by baling and pumping, was run ashore under the walls of Carthagena. Believing, or pretending to believe, that they were pirates, the ship's company—30 men and a boy—were made prisoners by the Spaniards, and the ship and cargo seized. When the news of the capture reached the Council, they dispatched a messenger to the Governor of Carthagena to formally demand the release of the prisoners and restoration of the ship and cargo, and threatening reprisals in the case of refusal. When the envoy, who carried a flag of truce, delivered the Council's letter, along with a copy of the Company's Act of Parliament, the Governor treated him most contemptuously. He tore the letter and the Act in pieces, which he angrily tossed aside, stating that he would shortly made a descent upon the Scots settlement and root them out. Captain Pinkerton and his officers, after being subjected to great indignities and sufferings at Carthagena, were passed on to Spain, to be tried there as pirates. They were condemned to death, but, chiefly through the intervention of King William, were ultimately allowed to go free. The crew of the *Dolphin Snow* had the misfortune to be drafted into the Spanish warships in the Indies.

effects was not able to make satisfaction for this boy of Pennicook's. I did what I could to get a boat or canoe to send out, that the boy might be sent in, and the canoe released, but an embargo was laid upon every thing; so the sloops were forced to lie off and on all night for their canoe and men; and when I saw I could not prevail for a boat, I endeavoured to get the men out of the guardhouse. The next morning, early, Captain Pilkington went in his canoe aboard of Moon, and told him what was the matter. By him I sent a letter to Wilmot, to come ashore and justify himself. The boy Skelton was brought, and Mr Wilmot also appeared; but instead of accusing Mr Wilmot of anything regularly, as I had reason to expect, it all ended in a little hector and Billingsgate. Mr Wilmot stayed till the afternoon; and before he went away I came to Mr Mackay's hut, and Mr Wilmot came also to take his leave. The rest of the Councillors were then together; and upon my coming, they called me in, and Mr Mackay presented me a paper to sign, which contained a warrant to Captain Robert Drummond to take boats and go and bring in Captain Mathias his sloop. When I asked what reasons they had for it, Mr Mackay answered, that they were informed that this sloop was a Spanish sloop, and was freighted by three Spanish merchants, now on board her, and bound for Portobello, with I know not what, for a treasure of gold and silver bars; and added, I warrant you will not meddle, because your friend Mr Wilmot is concerned. This usage did not please me. But, however, I told them, if she was a Spanish sloop, I was as ready as they; but, if belonging to any other nation, I would not be concerned. But, however, I signed the warrant to

bring in the sloop. When she was brought, instead of a Spanish we found her a Jamaica sloop, with two Spanish passengers, and, as I heard, about 80 or 100 pounds value, in pieces of eight, Spanish pistoles, and gold dust. When I found this, I must needs say I was very angry, and endeavoured to get the sloop and men discharged next day, as being an English bottom. To this purpose, I laid the law before Pennicook, and afterwards to Mr Mackay, who by this time had brought the men and money out of the sloop. Upon this, I said I would write home about this matter, and then left them. Upon this occasion, God knows, my concern was not upon my own account, or any humour of my own, but the true love of justice and good of the Colony; in which concern of spirit, I heartily wished that they might not have cause to repent of their inhuman usage of those, before any other friendly strangers came to visit them, or to this effect. When I was gone, there was a Council called, consisting of Pennicook, Mackay, Montgomery, and Jolly, where, as the Secretary told me afterward, they confirmed the taking of the two Spaniards and the money from on board the Jamaica sloop. I suppose the minutes of the 29th or 30th of March will show it.

The Council not only bought what provisions Captain Philips had on board, and also hired his Brigantine express for Scotland; and, besides, an address to his Majesty, to lay before him our ill usage by the Spaniards, and the needful dispatches to the Company, to carry some intelligent and well-instructed person, to make a more lively representation of our circumstances to the Company. But although Mr Mackay was pretty well recovered, yet they could not

at all agree upon the person to be sent. This and the like delays and interruptions occasioned another motion for an addition to the Council, in order to carry things more smoothly for the future. But upon this motion, Mr Montgomery opposed it, and then withdrew. Mr Jolly also opposed it, but continued with us till Mr Colin Campbell was named and voted, and then he likewise withdrew; and although we sent our Secretary several times, entreating them, in a friendly and respectful manner, to give their attendance and assistance in Council, yet they refused, and altogether forsook us; and not only so, but some small time after left the Colony.

After the admission of Mr Colin Campbell, Mr Samuel Veitch, Mr Charles Forbes, and Mr Thomas Drummond, we proceeded to transmit the address to his Majesty, and the other needful dispatches to the Company; and Mr Daniel Mackay was pitched upon to be the person should carry them, who was parted from us the tenth or eleventh of April last.

Upon the return from the Governor of Carthagena, we began to think of undertaking something considerable against the Spaniards; but the rainy season then approaching, together with the sickness of some, and the general weakness and rawness of our men, made it impracticable at this time by land, wherefore the ships were ordered to be in readiness; and in the meantime, Pilkington and Sands were ordered to cruise upon the coast of Portobello, to take what they could by way of reprisal; as also what prisoners they could light upon, for intelligence, guides, and pilots.[1]

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[1] The Council entered into the following agreement with

Within twelve or fourteen days, Pilkington and Sands returned without any prize but one, that of a sloop they found riding at anchor at the Samblas, without anybody in her; nor did anybody appear, although there were many guns fired, and almost two days spent, expecting some of her crew, or other intelligence who she belonged unto. At last they

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Captain Pilkington, when they granted to him letters of mark and reprisal against the Spanish ships :—

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWIXT THE COUNCIL OF CALEDONIA AND CAPTAIN EPHRAIM PILKINGTON.

" *Witnesseth as follows:*—

"1st. The said Ephraim Pilkington shall have and receive for the hire of his Shallop twelve full shares.

"2nd. The said Ephraim Pilkington shall have and receive for himself two shares and a half.

"3rd. The Doctor shall have one hundred pieces of eight for his Chest of Medicines, and one share in common.

"4th. The said Council reserve to themselves one-tenth part of all the loading of any prize taken at sea—the wounded and disabled men being first provided for—and the like share of all booty taken upon land.

"5th. If any man be disabled in the service of the voyage, in so much that he be put from getting a future livelihood, in such case the same man shall have and receive six hundred pieces of eight, or six able slaves, if so much be made in the said voyage.

"6th. All the remaining part of the profit of the voyage to be equally divided amongst the men belonging to the vessels, share and part alike.

"7th. That the said Ephraim Pilkington have his choice of first, second, or third prize, taken in the voyage in lieu of his not exceeding three in number.

"In virtue whereof, both parties have hereto set their hands, at Fort St Andrew, the 11th day of March 1699.

"ROBERT JOLLY, J.
"EPHR. PILKINGTON."

brought her away, as thinking her to belong to some pirates we heard were upon the coast, who might have been gone out upon some land expedition in their canoes.

Pilkington and Sands also acquainted us of their receipt of letters from Jamaica by a sloop they met with at sea, by which they were very much threatened for engaging with us, and upon this desired to be paid what we owed them, in order to return home. We gave them such goods as we had, and as much to their satisfaction as possible; but, after all, there remained a balance of more than a hundred pounds sterling to Captain Pilkington, and above twenty pounds to Captain Sands. They parted with us the twentieth day of April; and Captain Pilkington promised, as soon as he arrived, to send us a sloop with provisions, and, as soon as he could, would follow after with his family and effects. In the meantime, there was a plot to run away with the ship the *Saint Andrew* discovered, and that several persons were suspected to have a hand therein. I had then some fits of an intermitting fever; but, however, I put force upon myself as much as possible to be present in the Councils, lest some rash act should be committed, or an innocent man should suffer. After all, it was found to be the melancholy discourses of three or four fellows, who, among others, were miserably harassed by Pennicook's unequal government on board.

Our men did not only continue daily to grow more weakly and sickly, but more, without hopes of recovery; because, about the latter end of the month of April, we found several species of the little provisions we had left in a manner utterly spoiled and rotten; but under

these our very unsupportable difficulties, it was no small ease and satisfaction to the Colony to find their Sea-Commanders reduced to reason, and their Councillors become so unanimous, patient, and prudent, by whom the doctrines of non-protesting and non-admission were exploded with disdain, and any former misunderstandings, irregularities, or disrespectful carriage to one another in the old Council, were now become as so many lessons of warning to the new, by which there was much contentment, and few or no grumblings among the people, as every one expected with patience the arrival of good news, and the needful recruits from the mother country, to make way for happy days and glorious success to come, which the good and hopeful condition of their government seemed to be no small pledge of.

Towards the beginning of May, there arrived a French sloop from Petit Guavas, with a letter from the Governor Du Cass about the before-mentioned French wreck. One Captain Tristian commanded this sloop, and one Du Cass was as supercargo aboard of goods for the Spanish coast. They made some stay about the wreck; and before we received the unhappy news of the proclamations, they sailed for Portobello. This Captain Tristian had, some years ago, by shipwreck upon this coast, been forced to live a great while among the Indians, and to go naked as they. He spoke the language, and admired this country for healthfulness, fruitfulness, and riches, above all other in the Indies, and said he would come and reside among us, and doubted not but above five hundred of the French from Hispaniola would soon be with us. He told us this country was reckoned by those who

had tried the difference much more healthful than Hispaniola, or any of the American Islands, so that several French who knew it, began to use the coming from Hispaniola in trading or fishing sloops to recover their healths; and of this he had experience several times, and now even at present, though it was the sickly season for new comers. He said, there is such a thing as a more sickly time of the year than others in all countries, and the season here was from April or May to September, and then all that had any means to do it would recover. He would take the first opportunity to write us the news, and the true state of the Spaniards from Portobello.

Upon the third day of May we despatched the sloop brought in by Pilkington and Sands to Jamaica with money and other effects, in order to purchase provisions and necessaries for the Colony. Of her design we had given a hint to Captain Pilkington before he went away, the better to be in readiness to freight her when she should arrive. Mr Henry Patton had the command of this sloop, and Mr Alexander Burnet was to manage any negotiation ashore. Then we began to expect these two sloops, viz. that of Pilkington's, and this from Jamaica; also, that other supplies would be dropping in till a reinforcement should come from our country; when, instead thereof, upon the eighteenth day of May, a periagua of ours returned from the coast of Carthagena, which had met with a Jamaica sloop, by whom she had the surprising news, that proclamations were published against us in Jamaica, wherein it was declared, that by our settlement at Darien, we had broken the peace entered into with his Majesty's allies, and therefore prohibited all his Majesty's subjects from

supplying or holding any sort of correspondence with us, upon the severest penalties;[1] and it seems the

[1] Proclamations were issued by (1) Sir William Beeston, Governor of Jamaica; (2) R. Gray, Governor of Barbadoes; and (3) Lord Bellomont, Governor of New York. The Jamaica proclamation ran as follows (the others were in similar terms):—

> "By the Honourable Sir WILLIAM BEESTON, Kt., His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commandant-in-Chief in and over this his Island of Jamaica, and over the territories depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same.
>
> "A PROCLAMATION.
>
> "WHEREAS I have received commands from His Majesty, by the Right Honourable *James Vernon* Esquire, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, signifying to me that His Majesty is unacquainted with the intentions and designs of the *Scots* settling at *Darien;* and that it is contrary to the peace entered into with His Majesty's Allies, and therefore has commanded me that no assistance be given them. These are, therefore, in His Majesty's name and by command, strictly to command His Majesty's subjects, whatsoever, that they do not presume, on any pretence whatsoever, to hold any correspondence with the said *Scots*, nor to give them any assistance of arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other necessaries whatsoever, either by themselves or any other for them; or by any of their vessels, or of the *English* nation, as they will answer the contempt of His Majesty's command to the contrary, at their utmost peril. Given under my hand and seal of arms this 8th day of April, 1699, and in the eleventh year of our Sovereign Lord William the Third of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, and of Jamaica, Lord Defender of the Faith, etc. WILLIAM BEESTON."

The instructions to the Colonial Governors to issue the proclamations were sent secretly from England. The insincerity of the English Government in the affair is evidenced

Governor of Jamaica had been so hasty and precipitant in this matter, that these proclamations were published upon the Sabbath day (the like whereof had not been formerly known). But it was to prevent the going out of two sloops bound out next morning, and freighted with provisions for Caledonia. This sloop also reported, it was rumoured at Jamaica, that the Company had asked some thing or other, they knew not what; but only, that it was unanimously rejected by the Parliament of Scotland. This I could not believe; yet the report thereof, at this juncture, did us a great deal of harm, and added to the disorder people were in about

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by the fact that, in September 1697, the Board of Trade reported that Darien had never been possessed by the Spaniards; and they recommended that the territory be seized for the Crown of England with "all possible dispatch, lest the Scotch Company be there before us, which is of the utmost importance to the trade of England." This resulted in Captain Long being sent out in the *Rupert Prize*, but on arrival he found the place in possession of the colonists.

After the collapse of the Darien enterprise, the Scots attributed its failure mainly to the Colonial proclamations forbidding intercourse with the settlement, and blamed the English Government accordingly. But, as De Foe says in his 'History of the Union,' if the colonists had been provided either with money or letters of credit, they could not have failed to obtain supplies. When the colonists retired from Darien they met at sea a New England ship with provisions, bound for the Colony; and when the *Unicorn* arrived at New York, Paterson says they were informed "that some sloops and vessels were gone to Caledonia, and a great many more, *notwithstanding all prohibition*, were following after." As it was, in the month of February—two months before the proclamations came out—two sloops freighted with provisions, from Jamaica, returned thither again without breaking bulk, as they would not part with their provisions upon any account unless they received money in exchange.

the proclamations; and it seemed impossible to stay them for above a week at most. Although, considering our low and distressed condition for want of supplies, the prohibiting the King's English subjects from trading, or so much as corresponding with us, was very discouraging, yet the declaring we had broken the peace, and, by consequence, proclaiming us pirates, before we had been once heard, or summoned to answer, so very contrary to the usual proceeding even in case of real piracy, was most of all surprising, and became the general occasion of people concluding, that the long silence of our country proceeded from no other cause but that they were brow-beaten out of it, and durst not so much as send word to us to shift for ourselves. Upon these and the like apprehensions every one more than others began to be in haste to be gone. When I saw there was no talking against our leaving the place, I persuaded them what I could, that first rumours of things of this nature were always most terrifying, and that happily our native country knew nothing of all this. If they would not go, but remained firm to the design, there was none of us but would afterward be ashamed of our precipitant forwardness in going away upon this occasion; therefore I desired them not to design, or so much as talk of going away; but only, since our landsmen were so ill, that they were no more in condition to defend the fort, that they might embark some or all of the best things on board the several ships, as places of greater security, and if we must leave the harbour, nay, the coast, that we should think of it only by precaution, and even return when we should be at sea, if we met with any news or supplies from Scotland, which I did not doubt of our

meeting with, if we did not make too much haste. This they seemed to agree to, but not by any means to lose time in going out; but although they had agreed the contrary, yet it was immediately among the people and strangers with us that we had resolved to desert the place. From that time, all I could pretend to, was only to contrive lets and stumbling-blocks to the proceedings. Another thing I thought upon was, if our sloop arrived from Jamaica, to stay with twenty-five or thirty men upon the coast, and live upon turtling and fishing for some time, till we should see if any recruits, or news, came from Scotland. This I imparted to Captain Thomas Drummond, who seemed most concerned at our leaving the place. He seemed very well pleased with the proposal, if it could be reduced to practice, with only this difference, that I should go to Scotland, in order to represent some things of moment to the Company, and he stay in my place on the coast. But our sloop not coming from Jamaica before our going away, as also the almost universal falling down of our men, and wanting means to recover them, rendered this design of staying upon the coast impracticable.

About ten days before we went away, arrived another French sloop, who said she came last from Carthagena, and told us, the new governor, so long expected, was arrived from Spain about three weeks before, and had made the old governor and most of the officers prisoners, for yielding up that town to Pointia. They also pretended there were four French men-of-war on the coast, and that the Spaniards were making great and speedy preparations against us. They had no sort of goods aboard, and were by us suspected for spies. Indeed, one of the two gentlemen in her seemed

not unfit for that purpose. What their names were, my sickness gave me not leave to know, but we left them in the harbour when we came away; before which, we received a letter from Captain Tristian at Portobello, wherein he gave us the whole state of the Spanish preparations, with his conjectures that they would not be ready against us in less than four months. He concluded with his hearty wishes that the Scots fleet might be with us before that time came.

About the 5th of June, I was taken very ill of a fever; but trouble of mind, as I afterwards found, was none of the least causes thereof.[1] By the 9th or 10th of June, all the Councillors, and most of the officers, with their baggage, were on board the several ships, and I left alone on shore in a weak condition. None visited me except Captain Thomas Drummond, who, with me, still lamented our thoughts of leaving the place, and praying God that we might but hear from our country before we left the coast. But others were in so great haste, that all the guns in the fort, at least those belonging to the *Saint Andrew*, had been left behind, but for the care and vigilance of Captain Thomas Drummond.

In my sickness, besides the general concern of my

[1] Sir John Dalrymple, in his 'Memoirs,' says: "He must have a heart of stone who does not feel for Paterson in his allusion to this cruel personal fatality in the following words of his letter, 'I was taken very ill of a fever; but trouble of mind, as I afterwards found, was none of the least causes thereof.'" In a letter, dated Boston, New England, 23rd September 1699, from Mr John Borland and other two gentlemen concerned in the Company, the following reference is made to Paterson: "Meantime the grief has broken Mr Paterson's heart and brain, and now he's a child; they may do what they will for him."

spirits, I was much troubled about a report spread abroad of Captain Pennicook, as designing to run away with the ship, on pretence that we were proclaimed pirates, and should be all hanged when we came home, or at least the Company would never pay the seamen their wages. In my small intervals of ease I would fain have had a council, and Pennicook come on shore, to inquire and take order about this report, and if any truth were in it to have secured him on board another ship. But I could not get them to me by reason of illness, at least pretended illness in some, and I was not able to go to them.

June the 16th. As I remember, I was brought on board the *Unicorn* in a great hurry, they pretending they would sail next morning; and they seemed to be in so great haste, that I apprehended they would hardly stay for one another, as afterwards it happened.[1] My things were that night some of them put on board, some of them left behind and lost, and almost all of them damaged and wet, which afterwards rotted most of them. Among the rest were lost several brass kettles of my own, and sixteen iron pots belonging to Mr Wilmot of Jamaica. There also remained due to

[1] "As a matter of fact the colonists had been reduced by the deadly climate to such desperate straits that, on the first rumour which reached Darien of Beeston's proclamation, they stampeded, and deserted the fever-stricken swamps without ever waiting to see how the proclamation would affect them, or even if the rumour that it had been issued was true. This fact did not prevent the Company from declaring that the proclamation had not only ruined the first settlement, but had so heavily handicapped the succeeding attempts that their entire enterprise was ruined."—"The Virginia Letters," by Hiram Bingham, in the 'American Historical Review,' July 1905.

me from the Colony about seventy-two pounds sterling, for which they had sugar, tobacco, rosin, and other things for the use of the ships and men ashore, and for which I was promised money or effects immediately. But my sickness prevented my getting the balance of that account then, and it remains yet due to me. But the worst is, it belonged almost all to other people.

I think it was upon the 18th of June that the *Caledonia* got under sail, and the *Unicorn* followed. Both warped out beyond the Black Rock; but had like to have been lost in the night by a squall of wind, or a tornado; and for want of hands the *Unicorn* lost one of her anchors and longboat. The *Saint Andrew* set sail next day, and was as forward as any of them. The *Unicorn* lost the wind by endeavouring to recover her longboat, and was forced to come to an anchor under Golden Island, where she rode in no small danger; but it pleased God there were no squalls of wind. That night the *Caledonia* and *Pink* were quite out of sight; but the *Saint Andrew* came to an anchor about two leagues, as I guess, towards the north-west of us. Next day, being the 20th, we saw none of the ships, and, for want of hands, were forced to cut, to get clear of that unhappy place where we rode, and so lost another of our anchors.

Upon the 18th, as we were warping out, Captain Thomas Drummond came on board, and acquainted us that Captain Veitch and he had met twice on board the *Saint Andrew* with Pennicook and Campbell; and that he was now come from the last meeting, whereat they had resolved upon leaving the place, and that they had agreed to touch at New England to get provisions. Captain Drummond also offered me two

papers to sign. I was very ill, and not willing to meddle. But he pressed it, saying there could be no quorum without me; because four Councillors must sign the instructions to the two aboard of each ship. Upon this I signed them. They contained, as I remember, the one an order to the several captains to keep company with one another, and to go for Boston or Salem in New England, and the other was an order to the two Councillors on board each ship, or the survivor of them, in case of separation, to dispose of such of the cargo as they could, and after supplying the several ships with provisions, to carry what remained to Scotland for the Company's use. He said he would see me next day, but I saw him no more till we met at New York.

That day we parted from Golden Island, we met with the sloop commanded by Patton, from Jamaica. She could get nothing there because of the proclamations, of which she had procured a copy, not knowing we had received it before. Next night we sprung our main-topmast, yet got it mended next day. A night or two after we lost all our masts, except the main and mizzen, by a squall of wind and want of hands to the sails. This was not all. The leaks of our ship, that were great before, increased to that degree that we were hardly able to keep her above water. Next day we saw the *Saint Andrew*, about two leagues distance. She could see our distressed condition, but came not near us. It was calm all day, and had she sent her boat, we had been able to recover most of our sails, rigging, and other useful things, which for want of this were utterly lost. In the afternoon we fired guns for her, upon which she came nearer, but lay by at half a

league distance. Our captain, Mr Anderson, went on board Pennicook, and besought his help; but he utterly refused, only at the entreaty of some of the gentlemen on board he was prevailed upon to give an order for the sloop to attend our ship till she saw what should become of us. Next day the wind served, whereupon the *Saint Andrew* set sail, leaving us in this miserable condition. The sloop continued by us all next night; but, notwithstanding her orders in writing, and Patton's repeated oaths to Captain Anderson, that he would not leave us, they sailed away from us next day at fair daylight, after Abraham Loudon had secretly conveyed himself and his baggage into the sloop's canoe, and so on board her.[1]

[1] On 10th February 1700 the Directors of the Company wrote: "This Patton was master of the sloop which was sent over to Jamaica from our Colony in May last for provisions. In his return, he met our ships at sea, and was commanded to attend the *Unicorn*, then in great distress; but was so far from doing it, that he ran away with said sloop, and when he came to Jamaica, disposed of her and her cargo, and applied the money got for them to his own use and such as were with him." Following upon this, after the death of Captain Pennicook, and of Captain Campbell, his successor, Patton managed to get the charge of the *St Andrew*, while she lay at Port Royal, and in his capacity of caretaker he appears again to have betrayed the trust reposed in him by his employers.

Abraham Loudon, who is stated above to have secretly conveyed himself on board of Patton's sloop, returned to Scotland, where he became a lieutenant in the Town Guard of Edinburgh. He was put under examination by the Court of Directors on 18th January 1700, and admitted that he had agreed with Patton to dispose of the sloop and cargo, he receiving £30 sterling as his share of the proceeds, besides some provisions. He, however, alleged that he duly acquainted Paterson, as well as the captain of the *Unicorn*, of his intention of going on board the sloop,

At this time we had only five or six seamen to a watch, and most of these none of the best neither; and there were about twenty landmen able to move, who had enough to do by perpetual pumping to keep the ship above water. However, the few men we had went to work, and in about a week's time got up jury masts of such stuff as we had left; and then setting sail, we were not able to recover Jamaica. On July 25th we made the Bay of Mattanzas, upon Cuba, when Captain Forbes died. The 26th, our captain went in his pinnace into the bay; but instead of water, found a Spanish fort of twenty or twenty-four guns, and never saw it till under its command. Then, by an inadvertency, Mr Spence, our linguist, stepped on shore to some Spaniards, who handed him. After they had gotten him, they endeavoured to secure the boat by commanding it with their guns and small arms; but in case that would not do, by manning a periagua after her. Our men, perceiving their delays and preparations, took their opportunity to get away. They were shot at several times, and pursued by the periagua, but were so happy as to escape. In the meantime, the ship escaped narrowly running ashore for want of hands.

That evening we set sail from the Mattanzas, and after likewise running great hazard of shipwreck on the coast of Virginia, where, August the 7th, we struck several times.

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to which, he said, no objection was raised. Paterson, who happened to be in Edinburgh at the time of this inquiry, was called and interrogated on the point, and stated that he was positive that Loudon never spoke to him on the subject. The Directors thereon reported, "We have many other reasons which induce us to believe that Loudon is disingenuous."

We arrived at Sandy-Hook, near New York, the 13th, and at New York the 14th of August last; under God, owing the safety of the ship and our lives to the care and industry of our commander, Captain John Anderson.

When we were come to New York, we were much concerned to find so universal an inclination, in all sorts of people, who seemed to regret our leaving the place more than we; and, by our friends, we then understood that some sloops and vessels were gone to Caledonia, and a great many more, notwithstanding all prohibitions, were following after, if the unhappy account of our unfortunate leaving the place had not stopped them.

In our voyage from the Colony to New York, we lost near 150 of about 250 persons put on board, most of them for want of looking after, and of means to recover them.[1] In that condition we had no small loss and inconvenience by the sickness and death of Mr Hector Mackenzie, our chief chirurgeon. He died off Cape

[1] Of the five vessels which formed the first expedition to Darien, one only, the *Caledonia*, was fated to return to Scotland. As already mentioned, the *Dolphin Snow* was forced to run into Carthagena, where she was seized by the Spaniards. The *Endeavour Pink*, which left Darien along with the other ships, was abandoned at sea, where she foundered. The *St Andrew* and the *Unicorn* ultimately reached Port Royal and New York respectively, but were left to go to ruin at these places.

Of the 1200 men who sailed from Leith in these vessels, 44 died on the voyage to Darien; about 300 found a grave during the Colony's short stay there; and more than 400 were thrown overboard in the fatal "middle passage" between Darien and Jamaica and New York. Many more died in Jamaica, while others got dispersed in that island and in Cuba and America. Very few lived to return to their native land.

St Antonio, July the 12th, of a distemper wholly, or in a great measure, contracted by his unwearied pains and industry among the people on shore, as well as on board, for many weeks together, when there was hardly any other willing, if able, or at least capable of helping them.

The ship *Caledonia* was about ten days at New York before us, where, when I arrived, I was brought so very low, by my distempers and troubles of mind, that for some time my life was not expected. In the meanwhile, a transaction was made with Messrs Wenham and De Lancie, by Mr Samuel Veitch and Mr Thomas Drummond, in order to fit out a sloop to return to the Colony, and supply the ship *Caledonia* with provisions for Scotland. My indisposition disabled me from meddling. But Captain Robert Drummond can give a larger account of that matter, as having been concerned in the whole course of that affair with the aforesaid two Councillors. About the 18th of September Captain Thomas Drummond was dispatched back to the Colony, in a sloop, with arms, ammunition, provisions, working tools, and orders to see and resettle the place, if the supplies from Scotland were come up.

Before Captain Thomas Drummond went away we had received the Company's letter of the 22nd April, by way of New England; but had only flying reports, without any certainty, of what recruits were sailed from Scotland. Only they seemed all to conclude that some Scots ships were passed by the Leeward Islands, which we supposed to be Captains Jameson and Stark, after we had received yours of the 25th of June, the day before we sailed.

Some days before I parted from New York, Mr Samuel Veitch acquainted me that he designed to stay there this winter, and that, in the meantime, he would look after the effects put ashore to satisfy Messrs Wenham and De Lancie. By that means he would be in readiness to go back to the Colony, when he should receive the Company's orders. I would have spoken with him about this matter more at large, but his sudden going aboard the ship, then lying six leagues off, prevented me; nor did I see him till I came on board, when I found him determined to stay behind us.

October 12. We set sail in the ship *Caledonia* from Sandy-Hook, near New York, and after a tempestuous, stormy passage, although but little contrary winds, we made the west coast of Ireland, Saturday, November 11th, and by reason of the mists and currents, we were in great danger off the rocks of Ferney, November 13th, about ten at night. After that, the wind coming short and exceeding stormy, after no small danger, we were obliged to come to an anchor at the northerly entrance of the Sound of Isla; and there we rode it out in most violent storms till Monday, 20th November, when we got into the Sound, and came to an anchor in a safe place and smooth water; under God, owing our safety and that of the ship to the great vigilancy and industry of our commander, Robert Drummond.

Upon the ship's arrival in the Sound, Captain Drummond immediately dispatched Captains William Murray and Laurence Drummond express to Edinburgh, to acquaint the Company with our arrival. Next morning, being Tuesday the 21st of November,

in company with Captain John Campbell, I parted in a boat for the mainland, and from thence, by easy journeys and some stops, by reason of indisposition, I arrived here in Edinburgh, Tuesday, December the 5th inst.—I am, Right Honourable, your most humble and most obedient servant,

WILLM. PATERSON.

After giving in his Report, Paterson remained in Scotland for a time, and was again taken into the confidence of the Directors. He generously gave them the benefit of his assistance and advice in their difficulties, and their subsequent dispatches to the Colony bear evidence that they adopted his suggestions,—now, however, too late. Although the events which transpired in Darien after Paterson so reluctantly retired from it form no part of his life story, it may be useful to give a brief account of them for the purpose of completing the unhappy narrative of the ill-fated scheme. In connection with the first expedition, it should be mentioned that, when the surviving settlers were in the act of abandoning the Colony in June 1699, two auxiliary ships, the *Olive Branch*, Captain William Jameson, commander, and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness*, Captain Alexander Stark,[1] commander, were on their way

[1] "10th April 1699. Paid Alexander Stark, Skipper in Borrowstounness, in part of an Agreement with the Company, per Charter Party, for transporting 200 men to Caledonia in America, £800, 0s. 0d."—Entry in Company's Cash Book.

from Scotland to Darien with 300 additional settlers and a large supply of stores. These vessels sailed from Leith on 12th May 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay about the middle of August, having, it is stated, one death only during the voyage. On arriving at their destination, they were greatly surprised to find the settlement deserted and the colonists gone, they knew not whither. They resolved, however, to remain in the harbour and await the coming of the larger expedition, consisting of the *Rising Sun* and her three companion ships. But within a few days after their arrival a serious disaster took place, which necessitated a change in their arrangements. This was the loss of the *Olive Branch*, which was burned down to the water's edge, along with its cargo of provisions. The fire arose through the carelessness of one of the stewards, who had gone to the hold with a lighted candle to draw brandy. All the men on board (100) were safely transferred to the *Hopeful Binning*. Being now rendered incapable of staying at the place through the loss of their provisions, the intending settlers withdrew in the *Hopeful Binning* and sailed away to Jamaica, where a great mortality befell them, most of them dying there.[1] Prior to this, on 24th February,

[1] Before the *Hopeful Binning* left the harbour, about twelve of their number, including three lieutenants and a carpenter and

the Directors had sent forward their first relief ship—the *Dispatch*, a brigantine of 14 guns, Captain Andrew Gibson, commander—with provisions and advices. This vessel had not been out many days at sea when it was wrecked on one of the western isles of Scotland.

his wife, petitioned to be left behind to await the arrival of the larger expedition. Their request was agreed to, and a supply of provisions was given to them. They lived with the friendly and hospitable Indians until the arrival of the *Rising Sun's* party, whom they joined in good health and spirits.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXPEDITIONS TO DARIEN.

SECOND EXPEDITION.

UNFORTUNATE as had been the first attempt to colonise Darien, the second proved even more disastrous still.

Intelligence of the great calamity that had befallen the first expedition had not yet (August 1699) reached Scotland. The Directors and stockholders of the Company were still in the fond belief that all was going on well, and the public generally were on the *qui vive* for further good news from the Colony. Doggerel poets were singing the praises of the venture. A broadsheet, entitled "A Poem upon the Undertaking of the Royal Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," was sold by James Wardlaw, at his shop in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh. One stanza thus eulogised Paterson :

"Admire the steady soul of Paterson;
It is no common genius can persuade
A Nation bred in War, to think of Trade."

While another verse referred to the institution of the "open door"—

"This Company designs a Colony
To which all mankind freely may resort,
And find quick justice in an Open Port."

A patriotic "Lady of Honour," whose name is not given, also composed a song specially in connection with the departure of the second expedition. It was entitled "The Golden Island, or the Darien Song, in commendation of all concerned in that noble Enterprise of the Valiant Scots." This ditty was sold at John Reid's printing-house in Bell's Wynd, Edinburgh. In addition to a florid description of the springs, rivulets, flowers, and singing-birds of Darien, the honourable lady gave a generous forecast of the dividends that might be looked for by the stockholders on their investment—

"All men that has put in some Stock
To us where we are gone,
They may expect our Saviour's words,
A hundred reap for one;
For to encourage every one
That ventures on the Main."

Meanwhile the Company were not idle in

Edinburgh. Acting on the recommendation contained in the Council's letter of 28th December 1698, the Directors resolved to despatch the second expedition from the Clyde, in place of from Leith Roads, so as to avoid "the danger, as well as the tediousness, of the passage North-About."

Accordingly, a fleet of four ships of force was fitted out, consisting of—

The *Rising Sun* (Commodore) .	Captain James Gibson, commander (60 guns).
The *Hope* . . .	Captain James Miller, commander.
The *Duke of Hamilton* .	Captain Walter Duncan, do.
The *Hope of Bo'ness* .	Captain Richard Dalling, do.

The first two ships were owned by the Company, the other two being chartered; and they carried about 1300 men, together with a large supply of arms, ammunition, provisions, liquors, and other necessaries. Four councillors were appointed to the expedition—viz., James Byres, Captain James Gibson, Captain William Veitch, and Major John Lindsay, whose powers were to cease on reaching Caledonia and so coming within the jurisdiction of the old Council.

Although ready to sail on the 18th of August 1699, the ships were detained in the Clyde by contrary winds for over a month, this unfortunate delay entailing a corresponding encroachment on their stock of provisions. On

the eve of sailing, some flying rumours of the abandonment of the settlement reached Edinburgh. On the 22nd of September, immediately on hearing these reports, the Directors despatched an express to the fleet with instructions to further delay their departure, even "though the wind should prove fair," until the arrival of Mr Daniel Mackay, one of the councillors attached to the first expedition, who was at this time visiting Scotland on the Company's business, and with whom they proposed to send fresh instructions based on his recent experiences in Darien. But the council on board the *Rising Sun*, being suspicious that this message meant their recall, instantly resolved to depart. The express reached them at 10 o'clock on Saturday night, and they set sail at 9 o'clock next morning without hoisting their "Blue Peter," or waiting for some provisions which they had ordered, or for the men whom they had sent to bring the provisions off. The Rev. Francis Borland, one of the ministers on board the fleet, in his Diary, says: "September 24th, 1699, the Lord's Day, we set sail, being four ships in company, from Rothesay, in the Isle of Bute, and steered along through St George's Channel." Three months afterwards, the council sent home the lame excuse for their sudden departure that the countermand-

ing orders proceeded from three Directors only, whereas their original sailing orders were given by the whole Court.

The ships had a favourable passage as regards wind and weather, but much sickness prevailed among the men, about 160 dying on the voyage. On 9th November the fleet stood before the island of Montserrat, where Councillor Byres landed in quest of water, some fresh provisions, and the latest news; but the governor of the island refused to give any supplies, stating that he was acting in conformity with orders which he had received from the Court of England. While in the island, Byres heard rumours about the desertion of the Colony, and when writing to the Directors next day regarding these rumours, he said: "We shall see ere we believe, and either knit on the old thrum or begin a new web; and I'm persuaded all on board will do their utmost endeavour to maintain the honour of the Nation and interest of the Company." These expressions of loyal service gave great satisfaction to the Directors at home. On 30th November the four ships arrived safely in Caledonia harbour, and the sinister rumours in circulation at Montserrat were unfortunately confirmed. The settlement was found to be deserted, the huts burned, the fort demolished, and the ground that had been cleared all

overgrown with shrubs and weeds. A general outcry was now made in the ships to be taken back to Scotland without landing. Two small sloops with provisions were lying in the harbour at the time of their arrival. The one was under Captain Thomas Drummond, one of the councillors of the first Colony, who had come from New York, in company with some survivors of the first expedition, with a supply of provisions and working implements to assist in resettling the place. His sloop had been lying in the harbour for eight days. The other was under Mr Fulton from New England. From these gentlemen the newcomers learned what had become of the first Colony, whither they had gone, and how they had fared in Darien.

Shortly after arrival a meeting of councillors and land and sea officers was held to determine whether or not they should settle in the place. When they came to a vote, it was carried in the affirmative. Councillors Byres and Lindsay were averse to settling, and discouraged it from the first; Gibson was indifferent; Veitch alone resolutely advocating that a landing be made, in which he was strongly backed by Captain Drummond. When Captain Drummond went on board the *Rising Sun* on its arrival in the harbour, he found Byres "in a strange consternation by reason of the former Colony's

being gone," and maintaining that "they were not come to settle a Colony, but to have reinforced one." Byres used all his efforts to hinder a successful settlement. At the same time, this masterful man took upon himself the command of the Colony, and swayed the majority of the Council, from whose deliberations Captain Drummond was excluded by a mere quibble. Although the fleet had provisions for six months, Byres gave it out that they had a supply for six weeks only. Further, at his instigation the Council resolved that all the men beyond 500 should be sent to Jamaica, to be "disposed of" there. This announcement caused much alarm and grumbling among the settlers. They were not informed who were to be sent away, and it was bruited among them that they were to be sold as slaves to the planters in Jamaica. This had the effect of paralysing their efforts, "every one saying, what reason had they to work or build huts for others, they not knowing whether they were to stay or go." In fact, Byres so managed it that little real work was done until the Spaniards appeared at sea. Nine of the settlers ran away with an eight-oared boat belonging to the *Rising Sun*. "Nine Villains," as Byres and his fellow-councillors called them; "none of them are yet returned, albeit it be 14

days since they deserted." A plot was also discovered to make prisoners of the councillors and seize the two largest ships. This led to a council of war being held on board the *Rising Sun*, which resulted in one of the settlers, Alexander Campbell, being sentenced to death, the execution being carried out on 20th December within Fort St Andrew.

Information reached the settlement at this time that the Spaniards were busy preparing to attack the Colony. At this juncture Captain Drummond gave in a written proposal to the Council offering to relieve them of 150 men, with whom he would attack Portobello, and thus forestall the Spanish movement. His letter is as follows:—

"*Aboard the* Anna *of Caledonia,*
15*th December* 1699.

"To the Right Honourable the Council of Caledonia.

"Whereas I am sensible that one half of the men that is come from Scotland is to be sent to Jamaica, I therefore desire that you would allow one hundred and fifty that would be willing to take their fate with me, you allowing them three weeks' provision, which was condescended on to carry them off; likewise allowing arms and ammunition; and they shall not be burdensome to the Colony, till it is in a condition to maintain them. The reason of my pressing this now is, that I'm invited by several captains of the Indians that will raise their men, and undertake that which may be

advantageous not only to the party, but for the relief of what prisoners the Spaniards have of ours; and if you will grant my desire, you would condescend on it speedily, and give orders for the reviewing of what was brought in the sloop; and in so doing you will oblige. —R.H., Your most humble servant,

"THOMAS DRUMMOND."

Drummond's proposal was rejected by Byres and the other councillors as chimerical. In the 'Darien Papers,' p. 233, it is stated "that Mr Byres particularly said, 'They were not come to take towns,'" and "that at last it became a byword, that whoever seemed to be against Mr Byres' measures, was by him said to be one of those who were for the taking of towns." Byres, who was jealous of Drummond, ill-used the sailors of his sloop, so that they were obliged to shift among the natives, with whom they continued until they were brought off by an English ship sometime after the fort had been surrendered to the Spaniards. He even went the length of placing Drummond under arrest, and keeping him close prisoner for six weeks on board the *Duke of Hamilton*. This was until the arrival of Captain Campbell of Finab, Drummond's comrade and fellow-officer in the Earl of Argyle's regiment in Flanders, who demanded his release.

Notwithstanding that Byres discouraged the planting, the Council, in their letter of 3rd

February 1700, reported that they had erected a number of huts and two storehouses, and hoped in a few days to have the fort tolerably repaired. At this time intelligence was brought to Byres that the Spaniards were marching on the settlement; but he professed to scout the idea, and boasted that he would undertake to fight all the Spaniards who might come forward.

The Council's dispatches to headquarters were also most discouraging, complaining of spoiled provisions, bad beef and flour, and that their cargo did not contain £50 of vendible goods. They also wrote, "We cannot conceive for what end so much thin gray paper and so many little blue bonnets were sent here, being entirely useless, and not worth their room in a ship."

In a second report submitted by Paterson to the Directors after his return to Scotland, wherein he gives a full description of the soil and climate of Darien, he specially refers to the abundance of gold, and gives specific details of the various gold mines in the Isthmus. But on this subject Byres and his fellow-councillors write on 23rd December 1699: "That which was called Gold dust is indeed very thick here, particularly at our watering place, in and about the water, but it proves really nothing at all but slimy stuff, verifying the proverb, 'Tis not all Gold that glisters.'" The value of this

report may be judged from a written statement by Captain Drummond to the Directors, in which he affirms that during the whole time that Byres was located at Caledonia "he had not been a pistol-shot from the shoreside, so that he could not be capable to give any account of the situation and soil of the place."

Alarming reports were now being brought in daily by the friendly Indians from all quarters that the Spaniards were coming across the hills with a large force, and that several Spanish warships were on the way from Portobello to attack the settlement. Byres reiterated his disbelief in these reports, but nevertheless, on February 7th, he found it convenient to get out of the way by taking passage to Jamaica, ostensibly for the purpose of arranging for supplies and for the reception of the men in excess of 500 who were to be transported from the settlement against their wishes; and although he made a feint of returning to Darien, he never did so.[1]

[1] Mr Byres and Captain Drummond both lived to return to Scotland. In 1701 an inquiry was made into their conduct in the Colony by a committee of Directors of the Company, who examined as witnesses officers and others who had returned from Darien. The committee reported that Captain Drummond's conduct had been generous and honourable, and that he had made several good proposals, both for the honour of the nation and the interest of the Company, and that Byres and his fellow-councillors had treated him in "a barbarous, innatural, and unjust" manner. In regard to Byres, they further reported that

The Rev. Alexander Shields, one of the Presbyterian ministers attached to the Colony, writing at this time (21st February), says:—

"Our sickness did so increase (above 220 at the same time in fevers and fluxes), and our pitiful rotten provisions were found to be so far exhausted, that we were upon the very point of leaving and losing this Colony. Orders were actually given to provide wood and water with all expedition to carry us all off, which drove me almost to the brink of despair, and to thinking of a resolution to stay behind with anybody that would venture, among the Indians. But in our greatest darkness, light appeared."

The temporary gleam of sunshine referred to by Mr Shields had reference to the unexpected arrival, on the 11th of February, of Captain Alexander Campbell of Finab in a sloop from Barbadoes. This brave and tried soldier had been appointed by the Directors as a councillor and commander of the Colony, and he brought fresh dispatches and a much wanted

they were of opinion that he had "not only violated the trust reposed in him by the Company to an extraordinary degree, but was also guilty of several unwarrantable, arbitrary, illegal, and inhumane actings and practices highly injurious to the parties concerned, and manifestly tending to the great and irretrievable loss of the Company and Colony, and to the dishonour of the nation; and that he ought to be prosecuted for the same." Byres, shortly thereafter, retired to the Continent, where he attempted, but without success, to vindicate his conduct in 'A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Rotterdam: Giving an Account of the Scots Affairs in Darien. By James Byres.' Printed, 1702.

supply of provisions. His coming was timeous and welcome to the colonists in their great straits, and his presence raised their drooping spirits. By his advice they recalled the body of settlers who had embarked for Jamaica, and whose ships were still lying in the harbour, their repeated attempts to get out of the Bay having been frustrated by contrary winds.

On the 13th of February, two days after Captain Campbell's arrival, the Indians brought intelligence that a party of Spaniards were encamped within three days' journey of the settlement. On learning this, Captain Campbell advised an immediate attack on the enemy in their camp, and he cheerfully offered himself as leader. His advice was taken, and a party of 200 men allowed him. He was supported by Lieutenant Robert Turnbull, who led the van with over 40 Indians and 3 of their captains or chiefs. Turnbull was a loyal officer of the Company, who had been one of the first Colony, and understood something of the Indian language. After a toilsome march for three days, through woods and over high hills, they came upon the Spanish camp, entrenched behind a strong barricade, at a place called Toubocanti. Several rounds having been fired by the colonists, Campbell gave the order to attack, and with a huzza led the way, sword in hand. His hatchet-

men swiftly cut down the palisadoes, and in the strenuous assault which followed, the Indian levies specially signalised themselves. The Spaniards fled in confusion, leaving their dead and wounded; but night intervening, the pursuit was not continued any distance. The colonists had nine men killed and about fourteen wounded: among the latter were Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Turnbull, who were both wounded in the shoulder, and Pedro, one of the Indian captains — the last-mentioned severely. Included in the booty which they brought away was the equipage and coat of the Spanish commander, Don Michael de Cordonnez, which bore in embroidery a Golden Fleece, being his badge of honour as a Knight of the Order of St James.[1] In other three days they recrossed the moun-

[1] On Captain Campbell's return to Scotland, a special grant of arms was given to him by the Lord Lyon in recognition of his bravery and conduct on this occasion. The Directors of the Darien Company also ordered a medal in gold to be designed and struck in commemoration of the achievement. The obverse of the medal displays the arms of the Darien Company, while the reverse gives a picture of the battle itself in front of the Fort of Toubocanti. The legend on the medal bears the words, *Quid non pro patria* ("What would we not do for our Fatherland?"), and underneath it is stated that Captain Campbell vanquished 1600 Spaniards.

In this connection the following entry appears in the books of the Company: "19th October 1703. Paid for cutting a Medal presented to Captain Alexander Campbell of Finab, for his service done the Company in Caledonia against the Spaniard, £25."

tains, and brought to their comrades the news of their success; but brilliant as had been their triumph, it was short-lived. At this time several ships had been descried off the coast, and the Council sent out two sloops and the longboat of the *Rising Sun* to reconnoitre and ascertain what vessels they were. They proved to be Spanish warships, who, on sighting them, immediately gave chase; but the sloops being good sailers, and having a favouring breeze, got safely back to the harbour. The longboat fell astern, and was forced to run ashore into Carret Bay, where it was ultimately lost. On the 23rd February, a few days after Campbell's victorious return, eight Spanish warships, and on the 25th three more, came to anchor within Golden Island, over against the mouth of the harbour, so as to blockade it. All hands, seamen and landsmen, were now put to work to repair and strengthen the batteries of the fort, as far as they were able. The Spanish ships, which were under the command of Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Carthagena, did not venture into the harbour, but men were landed from them to the eastward of the settlement, out of reach of the guns of the fort. These were shortly afterwards reinforced by other troops that came overland from Panama and Sancta Maria, accompanied by numbers of Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes.

Pimienta, who also came on shore, gradually drew his men towards the neck of land leading to the Peninsula of New Edinburgh, on which Fort St Andrew had been built. To add to the calamities of the besieged at this time, by the accidental explosion of some gunpowder a fire broke out among their huts, burning several rows of them to the ground. This involved great loss of personal effects to many of the men, while numbers of the sick people had to be hastily rescued from the huts to save them from the flames.

On 17th March, after frequent skirmishes—several being killed and wounded on both sides—the colonists were compelled to retire upon their fort, thus leaving the neck of land free and open for the Spaniards to pass over.

On 18th March, so desperate was the position of the colonists, that at a meeting of the Council, land and sea officers, held in the fort, it was unanimously resolved to empower Captain Veitch, accompanied by Mr Main, the interpreter, and a drummer, to proceed to the Spanish camp to treat with the general about articles of capitulation. But the Spanish terms were so hard—being nothing less than a complete surrender of all the Colony's ships, ammunition, and goods—that the treaty broke up without effect. On the 24th the Spaniards were within

a mile of the fort, and creeping still nearer, they mounted a battery against it at a spot where the fort was weakest. At the same time they maintained direct communication with their fleet by boats from the shore. The enemy now got so near the fort as to cut off the water-supply, a rivulet half a mile distant, necessitating the colonists to use the water within the fort, which was a brackish puddle and most pernicious to health. The provisions also were now not only scarce, but bad and unwholesome,—"the bread was mouldy and corrupt with worms, and the flesh most unsavoury and ill-scented." Even the surgeons' drugs were about exhausted, and the fort was like a hospital of sick and dying men. Mr Borland says:—

"At this time when we were so hemned in by the Spaniards both by sea and land, we were also plagued with a sore, contagious, raging and wasting sickness, which was now become epidemical; and those of us who were not affixed to our beds, were become exceeding weak and feeble, so that at this juncture they could hardly make out 300 able men fit for service. This did exceedingly dispirit and discourage our men, the surviving daily beholding what numbers were swept away by violent and sudden deaths. Sometimes we would bury 16 men in a day; and men walking up and down in tolerable case to-day, would sometimes be surprised with the stroke of death to-morrow, hence there was a general consternation of spirit among us."

On the 28th and 29th March the Spaniards took possession of a wood within musket-shot, and fired on the fort on both of those days from under cover of the trees.

On the 30th of March, to the surprise of the colonists, the Spanish general made an overture to treat with them, and on the 31st the leading colonists came to an agreement with him to deliver up the fort on being allowed to embark on their ships "with colours flying and drums beating, together with their arms and ammunition, and with all their goods." The garrison were loud in their demands for a capitulation, and all the councillors and officers agreed to it except Captain Campbell of Finab, who strongly dissented, being against any treating with the Spaniards otherwise than by the sword.[1] The articles were signed on behalf of the Spaniards by Don Pimienta, and on behalf of the Colony by the two remaining councillors, Captain Gibson and Captain Veitch—Byres having left the Colony for Jamaica on 7th February, and Major Lindsay having died a few days prior to the capitulation. The three ministers in the Colony were specially solicitous that the Spaniards should not ill-treat the friendly

[1] Captain Campbell, with thirty men who stood by him, left Darien in his sloop and sailed for New York, and from thence got safely home to Scotland in July 1700.

Indians after the withdrawal of the colonists, and provision for this was attempted to be made in article vii. of the capitulation, which read: "That the Indians who have been friendly to us and conversed with us, since we came hither, shall not be molested on that account." But the Spanish general refused to accede to this. He stated that the Indians were the subjects of the King of Spain, and he knew best how to treat his subjects, but if the Indians kept out of his way he would not search after them. Mr Shields presented a petition and made a personal appeal on their behalf, which much provoked Don Pimienta, who sharply said, "*Cura tua negotia*" (Attend to your own business); to which Shields replied, "*Curabo*" (I will attend to it).

On the evening of Thursday, the 11th of April 1700, the surviving colonists weighed anchor and abandoned their unhappy settlement after a stay of four months and eleven days. Theirs had been a frowning Providence, and they gladly left the scene of their sorrows, little anticipating that even a worse fate, if that were possible, awaited very many of them.

The ships had some difficulty in getting out of the harbour, the *Rising Sun* especially. There was little wind, and the men — both landsmen and seamen—were feeble in health; but by towing and warping, with the help of

the Spaniards, the ships were got safely to Golden Island, where they anchored next day in view of the Spanish fleet.

The voyage to Jamaica was but a repetition of all the horrors of the "middle passage" which a few months previously had attended the ships of the first expedition. Mr Borland states that the men were crowded together, particularly those on board the *Rising Sun*, "like so many hogs in a sty or sheep in a fold, so that their breath and noisome smell infected and poisoned one another," and that their food consisted of "a little spoiled oatmeal and water." Sometimes there were buried at sea, from on board the *Rising Sun*, eight or nine in a morning. Similar mortality took place on board the other ships.

With the second expedition there sailed about		1300 men
Of whom there died on the voyage to Darien	160	
Ran away with the boat of the *Rising Sun*	9	
Killed in Campbell of Finab's engagement	9	
Died in Darien, about	300	
Died in the "middle passage"	250	
Died in Jamaica	100	
Drowned in the wreck of the *Rising Sun*	112	
		940
The remainder (say)		360 men

were mostly dispersed in Jamaica and the other English settlements in America, and very few returned to Scotland.[1]

Of the four ships forming the second fleet, none returned to Scotland. The *Rising Sun*, Captain James Gibson, was dashed to pieces in a hurricane off the harbour bar at Charleston, Carolina, and all on board—112 souls—perished. The same hurricane destroyed the *Duke of Hamilton*, but those on board were saved. The *Hope* was cast away on the rocks of Colorados, Cuba, also without loss of life. The fourth ship, the *Hope of Bo'ness*, while on the way to Jamaica, became so leaky that Captain Dalling had to run her into Carthagena, the nearest port, where he sold her to the Spaniards for a nominal sum.

Thus terminated the unfortunate attempt to colonise Darien, costing Scotland nearly 2000 lives and over £200,000 sterling in hard cash without any tangible return.

On his return to Scotland after the first abandonment of the Colony, Paterson could

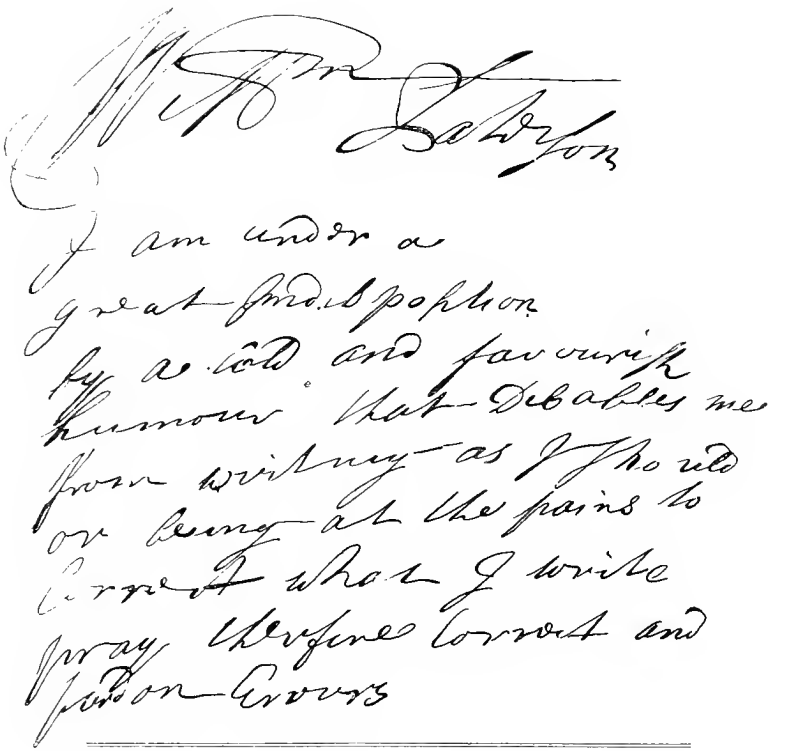
[1] In a list of fifty-seven deaths on land and sea which Mr Borland gives in his 'History of Darien,' he includes three of the Colony's councillors, two of the ministers, Lord Mungo Murray, Sir Alexander Kinnaird, Andrew Stuart brother to the Earl of Galloway, Stuart of Minto, and the Laird of Dunlop; also a major, nine captains, two lieutenants, and six ensigns. The list, though containing a mere fragment of the deaths, is instructive as indicating the status of some of the colonists.

look back with a clear conscience on the singleness of aim and purity of motive which governed his conduct in connection with the ill-fated Darien scheme. Its failure implied no slur on his character. In a letter, dated Edinburgh, 6th February 1700, addressed to his tried friend Captain Thomas Drummond, at Darien, he says:—

"In all my troubles it is no small satisfaction to have lived to give the Company and the world unquestionable proof that I have not had any sinister nor selfish designs in promoting this work, and that unfeigned integrity has been at the bottom of this. How and what I have suffered in the prosecution thereof, God only knows; and God Almighty lay it no further to their charge who have been the cause. I have always prayed for this; but must needs confess, could never, since my unkind usage, find the freedom of spirit I do now; and I must needs say that my concern of spirit is such, that I could not only join with those who have done me prejudices, although it had been willingly, but even with the greatest enemies I am capable of having, to save my country and secure the Company."

When he penned these lines, Paterson still indulged the hope of returning to the Colony, but this intention was frustrated by the second abandonment in April 1700.

Notwithstanding the final collapse of the scheme, Paterson did not give up his advocacy of the great commercial advantages which he



FACSIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE AND POSTSCRIPT TO A LETTER IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

PENNED BY MR PATERSON ON 6TH FEBRUARY 1700, A SHORT TIME AFTER HIS RETURN TO SCOTLAND FROM DARIEN BROKEN IN HEART AND HEALTH.

believed would accrue from the establishment of a settlement in the Isthmus of Darien. He accordingly planned his scheme anew, but on broader lines, in which England was to have a preponderating interest. This amended scheme, which he personally submitted to King William, was received with much favour by his Majesty; but that Prince's unexpected death in 1702 put a stop to further proceedings in the affair.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESTITUTION OF THE CAPITAL, WITH INTEREST, TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE DARIEN COMPANY.

In the month of September 1699, shortly after Councillor Daniel Mackay had arrived in Edinburgh by special express from Darien with accounts of the good condition of the Colony, strange rumours came to hand by advices from Sir William Beeston, Governor of Jamaica, to Secretary Vernon, London, that the colonists had absolutely deserted the settlement and gone and dispersed themselves, nobody could tell where. The story was at first set down as altogether malicious and false, and was even laughed at by Mr Mackay, who, at the time, was on the eve of returning to the Colony. But on 10th October the Directors themselves confirmed the unhappy rumours. They wrote: "The report which we had on 19th September of the Colony's desertion proves too true, for we have advices from New York that the big ships, the *Caledonia* and the *Unicorn*, are arrived

there in the beginning of August." In another letter, of same date, addressed to *The Original Council of the Colony at New York*, the Directors say: "The surprising and unaccountable news of your shameful and dishonourable abandonment of Caledonia on 29th June last, without any the least hint thereof from yourselves, affords us but too much matter of reflection on your infatuated proceedings for some time past."

It happened that, at the time when the rumours reached Edinburgh, the Company's second expedition, consisting of the *Rising Sun* and her three consorts, was lying in the Clyde, fully equipped, waiting a favourable wind to proceed to Darien. But as already mentioned, the councillors on board that fleet, although requested by the Directors to delay their departure pending the receipt of fresh sailing orders, hurriedly set sail before the fact of the abandonment of the settlement could be communicated to them. Shortly after their departure, Councillor Mackay, who it had been intended should have accompanied them, followed in the *Speedy Return*,[1] and Captain

[1] Councillor Mackay met with a tragic end on his return journey. In the passage betwixt Jamaica and Darien, while standing on the poop fishing for sharks, the ship gave a lurch, and he was thrown into the water; and although a boat was lowered and search made, he was never seen again.

Campbell of Finab also followed in another small vessel. These gentlemen were sent express by the Directors, by different routes, and both carried important dispatches to the new Colony. Later on, another ship, the *Margaret* of Dundee, Captain Leonard Robertson, commander, sailed from that port with a cargo of provisions and strong liquors; but it did not reach Darien until the middle of June, two months after the colonists had surrendered the settlement to the Spaniards, whose ensigns were now seen flying on the fort.

The interest of the Scottish people was now centred on the fate of the 1300 colonists who had embarked in the second expedition. In due time dispatches came home advising their arrival at Darien, but containing also the expression of their bitter disappointment at finding the settlement deserted, and the fort and huts in ruins. After voting on the question, the new colonists resolved to land and replant the settlement. Unfortunately, the majority of the councillors were lukewarm in the business, and after a short experience despatched most depressing reports to the Directors, which further deepened the gloom prevailing among their fellow-countrymen at home.

The Darien enterprise had taken possession of the Scottish heart, and if any one so much as

presumed to doubt its usefulness or success, he was deemed a public enemy. On 25th November 1699 the Earl of Marchmont, writing to the Rev. William Carstares, King William's confidential Secretary in London, says—

"The concern" (regarding Darien) "which appears in persons of all ranks, and even the meaner people who are not particularly interested and have no shares in the stock, for supporting and prosecuting the undertaking, is a thing scarcely to be imagined. I will assure you that any that would pretend here to persuade anybody that the falling out of that design may prove a prejudice to this nation would prevail nothing, but lose himself and carry the ill-will and disesteem of almost every one."

The people generally were now in a strange temper in regard to the affair. On 20th June 1700 the universal depression was temporarily relieved by intelligence arriving of the victory of Captain Campbell over the Spaniards. The patriots of Edinburgh, now calling themselves "Caledonians," assembled in "Pate Steill's Parliament," in the Cross Keys tavern, and decreed that the city should be illuminated in celebration of the event. This business was carried out with all the stern and resolute daring usual to an Edinburgh mob. The populace gathered in crowds from all quarters, and ruthlessly smashed all the windows that were not illuminated, with-

out respect to rank, except that, if anything, they did more damage to the houses of members of the Government. The mob next attacked the Tolbooth, the "Scottish Bastille," and with sledge-hammers and fire destroyed the door, setting the prisoners at liberty. The magistrates were paralysed. When these worthies appeared on the scene, accompanied by the veteran Town Guard, they were brushed aside "by a great many in gentlemen's habits, who came briskly up to them with drawn swords." The mob also seized and locked the Netherbow Port, in case the Lord High Commissioner's troop of Guards from Holyrood House should be brought upon them; they also requisitioned the services of the musical bells of St Giles, although these were under town authority, causing them to be jangled merrily to the tune of "Wilful Willie, wilt thou be wilful still?" At the end of the fray it was estimated that glass to the value of £5000 (Scots money?) had been destroyed.

The tumultuous joy of the so-called patriots was soon extinguished. In little more than a week after the display of the illuminations, news came to hand of the surrender of the colonists to the Spaniards, and the consequent ruin and final abandonment of the settlement. Popular indignation now burst forth in all directions. "Nothing," says Sir Walter Scott, "could be

heard throughout Scotland but the language of grief and of resentment. Indemnification, redress, revenge, were demanded by every mouth, and each hand seemed ready to vouch for the justice of the claim. For many years no such universal feeling had occupied the Scottish nation."

Not only had Scotland sustained great loss of life and treasure, but the national pride had been wounded by the entire defeat of the country's efforts to establish a foreign trade. The ferment of the people was intensified by the knowledge that the failure of their enterprise was, as they believed, largely due to the unfriendliness of their sovereign and the jealousy and hostility of the English people. They felt that the honour and independence of Scotland required to be vindicated.

Paterson was in Edinburgh when the painful news of the final evacuation of the Darien Settlement came to hand, and he at once frankly acquiesced in the failure. His attitude at this time was beyond praise. Instead of sinking under the accumulated disasters, he rose superior to his reverses. He used his influence in the most disinterested manner to allay the extreme irritation prevailing among his countrymen, and left out of account all his own personal sufferings and losses. He tried to persuade the incensed

subscribers to the stock of the Company to bear patiently what they could not remedy; and he represented to them that the opposition of the English Government was only one of the contributing causes of the failure, and that the want of foresight in the Directors at home, and the dissensions and lack of energy in the Council on the spot, were main factors in the misfortunes that had taken place. These averments as to gross mismanagement both at home and in the Colony were supported by the testimony of Captain Campbell of Finab, who returned to Scotland from Darien about this time. In August 1700 the Duke of Queensberry, then Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, stated that Paterson had succeeded in moderating the anger of the Scots respecting Darien, and in disposing them "to concert such things as they should agree upon, and were proper to demand in Parliament." His Grace added: "Mr Paterson is against moving anything this session about Caledonia (Darien), and tells me that he thinks he has gained some considerable men to his opinion. He has no by-end, and loves this Government in the Church and State."

At the same time, Paterson had the conviction that justice would yet be done by England to the unfortunate subscribers to the Company. To this end, in his various plans for

reviving the Darien Settlement he invariably included a clause making provision for indemnifying the subscribers for their losses. This indemnification is particularly dwelt upon, as not only an act of justice but of good policy, in his great tract, 'Proposals and Reasons for Constituting a Council of Trade,' which was originally printed at Edinburgh in 1700-1, when the extreme discontentment at the failure of the Darien enterprise had somewhat abated.

When the Estates of Parliament assembled in May 1700, several addresses and petitions from the shires and burghs, as well as from the Company itself, were presented in support of the Company's title to Darien, and a resolution was proposed that the Colony was a legal and rightful settlement, and that Parliament would uphold it as such. And when news of the final evacuation of the settlement reached Scotland at the end of June, the Estates took up the matter in earnest, declaring that Darien was a national affair, and should be considered before anything else, except religion. For years, from this time onward, Darien became a prominent question, and occupied a large space in the discussions of the House.

When the Parliament reassembled in October, the king endeavoured to soothe the members by sending a conciliatory message through the

Duke of Queensberry, his Commissioner. He expressed his regret that, for "invincible reasons," he was unable to agree to assert the Company's right to settle a colony in Darien, but he was heartily sorry for what had happened, and was most willing to concur with Parliament in any measures for aiding and supporting the Company, and for repairing their losses.

But the members were not satisfied with the royal message, and expressed keen resentment at the harsh treatment which they, as well as the Company, had received at the hands of both Spain and England. So strong was the feeling in the House on the burning question of Darien that, on the 16th of November, the business of the day was interrupted in order that two pamphlets assailing the Company, and a third lampooning Paterson's personal character, might be considered. After some parts of the pamphlets had been read, they were found "to be blasphemous, scandalous, and calumnious," and the same were ordered "to be brunt by the hand of the common hangman of the city of Edinburgh at the Mercat-cross thereof." Two of the tracts were alleged to have been written by Walter Herries, who had been surgeon and purser on board the first expedition, and who now appeared as a renegade Scot and libeller of his nation. A

few weeks afterwards a proclamation was published offering £6000 Scots as a reward for his apprehension.

Towards the end of the session, in January 1701, the subject of Darien was again brought forward, and was debated with much heat and clamour. The interference of the king and the English Parliament with the Company's Act in December 1695 was censured, and strong disapproval of the Hamburg Memorial of April 1697 and the Colonial proclamations was expressed. The debate was closed by the House ratifying the Company's original Act, and continuing all their privileges for the space of nine years beyond the period originally allowed.

During the remainder of King William's reign the people of Scotland showed their sullen resentment in many ways, and it has been stated that, if they had been possessed of a capable leader, nothing could have prevented a rebellion against the king, and war with England. This feeling of violent discontent was carried into Queen Anne's reign. On this point Sir John Dalrymple, in his 'Memoirs,' says :—

"In Scotland alone the Queen was embarrassed in her Government. . . . The passions of the high and low against England and English Councils, on account of the sufferings of the Darien Company, fluctuated from rage to sullenness and from sullenness to rage."

An incorporating Union had been one of King William's favourite projects. Soon after his accession to the throne, he had recommended it to the Scottish Parliament as the only effectual means of preventing dissensions between the two countries. And on 28th February 1702, eight days before his death, his Majesty sent a message to the House of Commons again recommending a Union, which, from his approaching dissolution, he had no hopes of accomplishing himself. One of the first acts of Queen Anne also was to send a letter to the Scots Parliament, in June 1702, in which she reiterated the late king's appeal for a Union, and earnestly recommended its favourable consideration. The Queen's Commissioner also dwelt strongly on the advantages which would flow from such a Union.

During this session the matter made considerable progress, when the Scots Parliament empowered the queen to nominate Commissioners to treat for a Union. The Commissioners appointed from each kingdom met at the Cockpit, Westminster, 10th November 1702, and at their sittings came to an agreement on several points, but some difficulties arose which led to the adjournment of the conference. One of these was in connection with the Darien Company. The Scots pro-

posed that the privileges of the Company should be preserved intact; but this was objected to by the other side as being incompatible with those of the English East India Company, and that the existence of two rival companies might prove injurious to the trade of the United Kingdom. On 1st February following, the Scots again brought forward their proposal, this time in writing, for consideration at next meeting, with the additional proviso that, in the event of the dissolution of the Darien Company being insisted on, the subscribers should be recouped at the expense of the public treasury. But at the next meeting, held on 3rd February, a letter was read from the queen adjourning the Commission; and it never met again. Although the joint deliberations at this time did not result in any definite agreement, they paved the way for the final arrangements for the Treaty, and the Scots Commissioners had the satisfaction of having left on record their views as to the manner in which the Darien Company should be dealt with in future negotiations with England. The minutes of the Scottish Parliament, of 9th September following, contain a resolution that the Scottish Commission for the Treaty is "terminat and extinct," and not to be revived without the consent of the Estates.

The chief aim of the Scots in any negotiations for a treaty of Union was to secure admission to the advantages of English trade everywhere. They determined to use all fair means to get this accomplished, and to show England that she could not wrong them with impunity. In accordance with this resolution, in the Parliament which assembled on the 6th of May 1703 the Scots passed the famous *Act of Security*, by which it was enacted that, on the death of Queen Anne without issue, her successor in Scotland should not be the same as the individual adopted by the English Parliament, unless the Scottish people were admitted to share with England the full benefits of trade and navigation. The Act also provided that the affairs of Scotland should, for the future, be thoroughly secured from English or foreign influence. By a further clause, which was to come into force at once, all the fencible men in Scotland of the Protestant faith were to be trained in the use of arms by being drilled once a month at least. The Act was triumphantly carried in an excited House; but the Queen's Commissioner refused to give the measure the royal assent, as it openly proclaimed a determination to dissolve the regal Union. This was met again by the Estates refusing to grant supplies until the Act should receive the queen's sanction.

During the same session the powers and privileges of the Darien Company were again ratified.

The Scots Parliament reassembled on 6th July 1704, when the Act of Security was again passed, and duly reported to the queen. On the advice, mainly, of her sagacious counsellor, Lord Godolphin, although not without hesitation, the queen now gave way. The Act was confirmed by the royal assent on the 5th of August, and a supply for six months was voted by the House unanimously.

The passing of the Scotch Act of Security caused much alarm in England. Orders were issued from London to call out the Militia of the four northern counties, and to fortify and garrison several of the English border towns, so as to be prepared for an invasion from the Scots.

At this critical juncture an unfortunate incident occurred which further inflamed the mutual resentment between the two nations.

The Darien Company, after the miscarriage of their great colonisation scheme, and consequent loss of their capital, made a feeble attempt to carry on a colonial shipping trade. One of their vessels, the *Annandale*, equipped for a voyage to India, put into the Downs in order to complete her crew. While there she was boarded and confiscated at the instance of the English East India Company, and restitution

was solicited by the Darien Company in vain. Shortly thereafter, by a singular coincidence, the *Worcester*, Captain Thomas Green, commander, an English East India ship (erroneously supposed to belong to the English Company) put into the Firth of Forth for repairs. At the place where she was moored the ship was visible from Edinburgh, and a popular cry got up that the Government officials should seize her by way of reprisal; but they declined to interfere. The Darien Company, founding on the wide powers contained in their Act, thereupon issued a warrant for the seizure, and their zealous secretary, Mr Roderick Mackenzie, resolved to execute the warrant himself. For this purpose Mackenzie enlisted the help of eleven "genteel pretty fellows," whom he met at the Cross in the High Street. These he divided into two bodies, and they visited the *Worcester*, ostensibly as pleasure parties unacquainted with each other. Mutual hospitality was indulged in on board, when at a preconcerted signal from Mackenzie his mercenaries overpowered the crew, about double their number, and captured the ship. The vessel was detained at Burntisland, and while there some of Green's men, either in their anger or their cups, let slip words importing that Captain Green had been guilty of piracy on a ship belonging to the

Darien Company, and had murdered the crew. Two of Green's men, both negroes, were specially free in their talk on the subject, but the name of the vessel that had been attacked was not stated. It happened that the Company, three years previously, had despatched a vessel to India, the *Speedy Return*, commanded by Captain Thomas Drummond, and it had not been heard of since. It was, therefore, concluded that the people of the *Worcester* had captured her and murdered the crew, and that Providence had directed them to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh for punishment.

These rumours reaching the Privy Council, they took up the matter, and after a searching examination, Green and his crew were arrested and brought to trial before the Court of Admiralty. Although there was no direct evidence to prove that the vessel in question was the *Speedy Return*, Green and several of his men were brought in guilty of piracy, robbery, and murder, and were sentenced to be hanged on the sands of Leith. The Government were disposed to obtain a reprieve from the Crown for the prisoners, whose guilt was so very doubtful. The queen also interposed, and the carrying out of the sentence was postponed; but the mob of Edinburgh, with their usual fury, intimidated the authorities, and demanded the lives of the

prisoners. The affair resulted in Captain Green, Madder, his first mate, and Simpson, a gunner, being executed on the 11th of April 1705, in terms of the sentence. They all died protesting their innocence. The rest of the crew were dismissed after being imprisoned for a time. Unfortunately, it subsequently transpired that Captain Drummond, whom the *Worcester's* people had been charged with murdering, was actually alive in a distant land at the time of the execution, so that if Green and his men had ever committed piracy on any vessel, it could not have been the *Speedy Return*. The impression went abroad that the unfortunate men had had scant justice, and had been sacrificed in retaliation for the ill-treatment of the Darien Company by the English Government.

This unhappy affair excited the keenest resentment in England, and still further embittered the strained relations of the two countries. The friends of peace and progress were now deeply impressed with the conviction that a legislative Union should no longer be delayed. This step alone, it was believed, would compose the differences and extinguish the heats that were subsisting between the two nations.

The Estates reassembled on the 28th June 1705, but the royal message was not read till the 3rd of July. In her letter Queen Anne

urgently advised the Estates to follow the example set by England and provide for the appointment of a Commission to treat for a legislative Union. On the 24th of August, after debates on the state of the currency, and trade, and respecting the succession, the draft of an Act empowering Commissioners to meet and treat with English Commissioners for a Union was presented to the House by the Earl of Mar, and read. The proposal led to a long and warm discussion, which culminated in the question of the selection of the Commissioners. On 1st September the Duke of Hamilton, who had up to this time retarded the passing of the Act, now suddenly made a change of front, and astonished his party by moving that the Scottish Commissioners should be nominated by the queen. This clause was carried by the small majority of eight, and with it the whole Act, which was passed amidst a scene of great excitement.

The Scottish Commissioners were selected and appointed by the queen on 27th February 1706, and those for England on 10th April,—thirty-one on either side. Like their predecessors of November 1702, they assembled at the old Council Chambers of the Cockpit, Westminster, and their first sederunt was held on 16th April 1706. Happily, on this occasion they met in a

conciliatory spirit, all being impressed with the gravity of the crisis, which was simply a choice either of "one Parliament or two Crowns."

On the 21st of June the Scots Commissioners proposed that the rights and privileges of the Darien Company be continued after the Union, or if the privileges of the Company were judged inconvenient for the trade of the United Kingdom, that the private rights of the Company be purchased from the proprietors. On the 25th the Commissioners for England answered that they were of opinion that the continuance of the Darien Company was inconsistent with the good trade of the United Kingdom, and consequently against the interest of Great Britain, and therefore they insisted that it ought to be determined. But

'being sensible that the misfortunes of the Company had been the occasion of misunderstandings and unkindnesses between the two Kingdoms; and thinking it to be above all things desirable, that upon the Union of the Kingdoms, the subjects of both may be entirely united in affection, they therefore wish that regard may be had to the expenses and losses of the particular members of the Company, in the manner hereafter mentioned; and they hope that when the Lord Commissioners for Scotland have considered how generally that undertaking was entered upon in Scotland, and consequently how universal that loss was, they will readily agree to the proposal."

Following upon this, the English Commissioners, "being extremely desirous to bring the Treaty to a speedy conclusion," agreed that, on the completion of the Union, the sum of £398,085, 10s. should be paid to Scotland as "an equivalent" for what that kingdom should become liable for towards payment of the debts of England, and for agreeing to an equality of taxes. They further proposed that the equivalent money should be applied (1) in discharging the public debts of Scotland, (2) in renovating the coin, and (3) in repaying the capital stock of the Darien Company, with interest at 5 per cent; and that immediately on such repayment of the capital stock and interest, the Company should be dissolved and cease. All these proposals, in connection with the equivalent, were embodied in No. XV. of the draft Articles of Union, which were signed by the Commissioners on 22nd July, the day before their meetings terminated.

When the proposed Articles of the Union were remitted to Scotland, and brought up for discussion in Parliament in the month of October, they roused great indignation all over the country. Day after day addresses from the shires, burghs, and parishes respectively poured in upon the Estates, all couched in nearly identical terms, and protesting against an incorporating Union

with England. In the month of November riots took place at Glasgow, and an armed force publicly burned the Articles at Dumfries. At the same time a stream of pamphlets, chiefly assailing the Union, issued from the press. Paterson took part in the fray, but he appeared on the other side of the controversy—that of promoting the Union; and in his 'Proceedings of the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street' he gives an able exposition of the necessity for and advantages of an incorporating Union, and combats the various adverse opinions prevalent on the subject. This was not a new idea with him. For several years he had advocated such a measure, and before King William's death he had entered zealously into his Majesty's policy of a legislative Union. In Paterson's opinion, the very failure of the Scottish aims at colonial enterprise in Darien made a closer union with England all the more imperative. He was in Edinburgh in September and October 1706 on the business of the Union, having been appointed by Lord Treasurer Godolphin to a Commission, along with Drs Gregory and Bower, to examine the public accounts. While so employed he penned five important letters, with a statement of the debt and revenues of both nations, demonstrating the reasonableness and advantages of the Union. These letters appear in a manu-

script in the British Museum. His friend, James Dupré, writing to him some time afterwards on the subject of his letters, addresses him "To William Paterson, Esq., my most honoured and worthy master," and says, in reference to the influence the letters had on the Union question, that "they bore such weight with the Committees appointed to examine the several matters referred to them, that we may without flattery say that *they were the compass the Committees steered by.*" The following extract from his fourth letter, dated Edinburgh, 8th October 1706, written three days after the opening of Parliament, describes clearly how the non-success of the Darien scheme was one of the accelerating causes of the Union. He says :—

"Although the keeping up of our [Darien] Company could not possibly prove of any benefit to its proprietors, but, contrariwise, be a certain hazard and loss, besides the needless umbrage it would give, yet will it, in the fruits of the Union, have had better success for the time than any other in Christendom—viz., a return of its capital stock advanced, with 5 per cent interest, besides the honour of being the means of uniting this noble and famous island, and thereby being the means of introducing, not only its own members, but with them their whole country, into a free and open trade. I doubt not but you will remember that when we first proposed this Company, the prospect of its being instrumental in bringing a Union was warm and sensible on

our spirits, as being the best and most desirable issue it could possibly have. Even the success we wished for, and sought in our attempts to Caledonia, could not possibly have terminated in more than this. And of this, our early sentiments and inclination, the motto of our Company is, and will be, a standing monument—viz., *Vis Unita Fortior*.

"In fine, as it is plain this Company hath rather been calculated and fitted for and towards bringing a Union, than for subsisting in an ununited state; and since, if the Union had been brought about by good success in our attempt to Caledonia, we have reason to believe no good patriot would have been angry, it would certainly be strange to find any so, when even the miscarriage of that design hath contributed to the Union."

Towards the end of December 1706, when the fifteenth Article of the Treaty (dissolving the Darien Company and making provision for its losses) came up for consideration before the Estates, it caused much stir. The Court of Directors of the Company expressed dissatisfaction with the terms proposed, liberal as these were, on the ground that the compensation offered involved the dissolution of their Company. They prayed to be heard by counsel as to the value of the privileges conferred on the Company by their Act, which were now to be sacrificed. On this point De Foe says that the proposal of the Directors was put forward not so much in behalf of the Company as to put a

stop to the Union, since it was evident that two India companies, one English and the other Scottish, could not be consistent with the good trade of the United Kingdom. The Company's proposal was therefore rejected, and the fifteenth Article, after some alteration and amendment, was approved and carried.

The Estates thereafter referred it to a special committee to look into and consider what the capital stock of the Darien Company, with interest, might amount to, together with the Company's debts, and to report the same to Parliament. Accordingly, when the committee brought in their report, dated 21st February 1707, it was found that the total amount due to the Company, as at 1st May 1707, in respect of capital stock, debts, and interest, amounted to £243,166, 0s. 3d. sterling, made up as follows:—

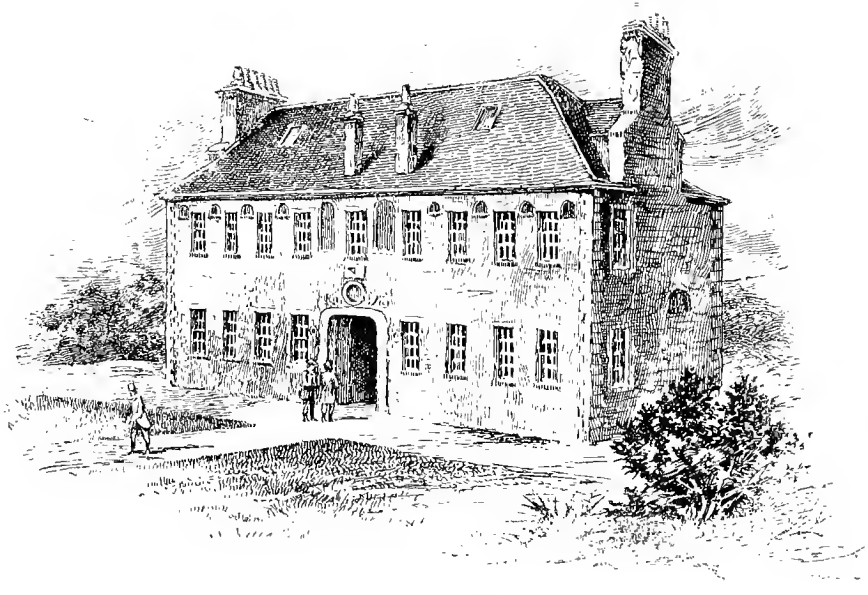
DARIEN COMPANY.—Total capital stock advanced by the proprietors, with interest at 5 per cent to 1st May 1707 . . .	£229,482	15	1⅝
Add—Debts due by the Company	14,809	18	11
Making together . .	£244,292	14	0⅝
Deduct—Money lent to proprietors	1,126	13	9⅝
Balance due to the proprietors .	£243,166	0	3

When the committee's report was submitted

to Parliament on 5th March, it transpired that a considerable amount of interest previously allowed by the Company to certain proprietors had been overlooked. The report was therefore referred again to the committee, in order that the calculation of the interest might be revised. By making allowance for this omission it was found that the balance due to the proprietors would have to be modified by the sum of £10,281, 15s. 2⅓d., thereby reducing the grand total of the compensation from £243,166, 0s. 3d. to £232,884, 5s. 0⅔d. sterling, the amount afterwards inserted in the relative Act.

The committee further found that there were debts due to the Company amounting to £22,951, 3s. 3⅜d., consisting entirely of call-money in arrear by the proprietors, with interest to 1st May. This indebtedness the committee recommended should be cancelled, and the debtors discharged, on the ground that if payment were to be insisted on, it would merely temporarily increase the capital stock of the Company, and the money would fall to be paid back to the debtors again. The last amount that the committee condescended upon was a sum of £1654, 11s. 0⅔d., the value of the Company's "dead stock." These assets consisted of

"the ship *Caledonia*, lying in the river of Clyde, with her furniture, guns, and apparelling; that lodging at



THE "DARIEN HOUSE" (SO-CALLED), BRISTO PORT, EDINBURGH.

ERECTED IN 1698, AND TAKEN DOWN IN 1871.

the back of Milns Square, over against the Tron Kirk, with some little household plenishing therein;[1] and the Company's share of the cargo of the *Speedwell*, shipwrecked in the East Indies, effeiring to the Stock of six hundred pounds Sterling, with the burden of Cellar rent of the stores of the *Caledonia*, and the expenses of keeping the said ship after the first of May; and of the freight, seamen, and factor's wages of the said cargo of the *Speedwell*, and other supervenient charges upon the said ship and cargo."

The committee recommended that the above "dead stock" money should be retained by the Company for the purpose of defraying the costs attending the liquidation — such as Directors' fees, staff salaries, and legal expenses; and also for awards to be granted to gentlemen-officers and others who went to Darien, for their faithful services.

The 25th of March 1707, the day on which the Scottish Parliament sat for the last time, was a red-letter day in the life of Paterson, for on it he beheld the royal sceptre extended to touch the *Act concerning the Payment of the Sums out of the Equivalent to the African*

[1] We have been unable to trace that the Darien Company ever had any connection with the old building called "The Darien House" in Bristo Port, Edinburgh, which was taken down in 1871. As stated above, the Company's office and warehouses were situated in Miln Square, opposite the Tron Church. It would be interesting to know why the building got the name of "Darien House."

Company. By this Act an amount "not exceeding the sum of £232,884, 5s. 0⅔d. sterling," was directed to be paid to the Darien subscribers in restitution of all their losses—a great boon to the Scotland of that period; and this consummation was largely achieved through the unremitting pleadings of Paterson during the preceding six years.

On the same memorable day, a signal mark of honour was given to him in connection with the part he took in bringing about the Union. The Minutes of Parliament record that "It being moved to recommend Mr William Paterson to her Majesty for his good service, after some reasoning thereon, it was put to the vote, Recommend him to her Majesty or Not? and it was carried Recommend."

Mr Hill Burton ('Darien Papers') states that it was only in a comparatively small number of cases that the subscriber who signed the subscription book in 1696 signed the receipt for the Equivalent certificate in 1707. In many cases the certificates were taken by assignees, in others by successors, and in not a few by arresting creditors. De Foe partly explains this by stating that the miscarriage of the Darien Company's designs had been so effectual that not only was their paid-up capital all expended, but they were much in debt besides.

This made the subscribers so apprehensive of further calls that many of them eagerly sold out their stock, several offering to dispose of their whole interest for 10 per cent on the original holding. And although repayment of the capital stock to the subscribers was provided for in the Treaty of Union, yet the fury of the opposition to the Union was so pronounced, both inside and outside of Parliament, that holders of Darien stock had little dependence on the Treaty being carried out.

Reimbursement to the Darien subscribers was to be made in cash. The queen appointed twenty-five Commissioners to administer the funds, and the Equivalent money lay in the Bank of England.

De Foe, who was in Scotland at the time, gives an account in his 'History of the Union' of the manner in which the Equivalent money was paid in Edinburgh. In terms of the Articles of Union, the money should have been paid on 1st May 1707; but July arrived, and there was no advice of its having left London. Scandalous reflections began to spread abroad to the effect that the English, having secured the Union, would pay only when they pleased, and perhaps never. Others gave forth the idea that, the money not being paid on 1st May, the Union was dissolved; "and there

was a discourse of some gentlemen, who came to the Cross of Edinburgh, and protested in name of the whole Scots nation that the conditions of the Treaty not being complied with and the terms performed, the whole was void." At last, in August, the money arrived in Edinburgh, in twelve waggons guarded by a party of Scots Dragoons, who drove directly to the Castle, where the gold was deposited. Even this did not satisfy the populace. They hooted the drivers, and railed on the very horses that drew the waggons; and when the drivers returned from the Castle, they were stoned. Of the total amount of the Equivalent, £100,000 only was brought to Edinburgh in gold, the remainder being in Exchequer bills, payable on demand, which the Bank thought would be readily taken in Scotland. This raised a new clamour, the people declaring that the English had tricked them by putting them off with bills payable 400 miles away, and which, if lost or mislaid, or by accident burnt, were irrecoverable. The Commissioners saw the mistake, and sent to London for £50,000 more gold. They also intimated that nobody would be obliged to take bills without their consent. In a short time, as the people found that Exchequer bills were accepted in payment for large transactions, and that they could readily be exchanged for coin or bills of

exchange payable in London, their dislike to them gradually wore off. De Foe further remarks that, from an "interest" point of view, the Bank had hoped that the Exchequer bills would remain in circulation in Scotland; but in this they were disappointed, as the bills returned to England so directly that in six months' time there was not one to be seen north of the Tweed.

CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM PATERSON'S INDEMNITY AND HIS LAST WILL.

When the lost capital of the Darien Company was repaid to the proprietors out of the Equivalent Fund, there was, unfortunately, none of the money for Paterson, as he was not a stockholder; and by an oversight in stating the Equivalent, his claims and demands on the Company for services and personal losses were, in his absence, left out and omitted. Thus, by a strange irony of fate, while he had been instrumental in having the losses of others made good, his own claims had been overlooked.

True, one of the very last resolutions of the Scottish Parliament was to recommend him to Queen Anne for his services in connection with the Union arrangements, but no personal benefit accrued to him from the recommendation.

In the "preamble" to the London subscrip-

tion book of the Company, dated 6th November 1695, there was an obligation by the English subscribers to pay to Paterson a commission of 2 per cent (£12,000) on the total subscription money of £600,000, and 3 per cent of the annual profits for twenty-one years or an additional £12,000.

These payments were to be made in consideration that "William Paterson, and others concerned with him, have been at pains and expense in making several discoveries of trade and improvements in and to both Indies, and likewise in procuring needful powers and privileges for a Company of commerce from several foreign Princes and States, which he and they have contrived, suited, and designed for this Company."

But on 29th November, after the London list was closed, at a meeting of the English Directors in the city, at which three of the Scotch Directors were present, Paterson of his own accord took the opportunity of intimating that he freely and fully resigned all his claim, although it was quite a legal one, to the commission promised in the preamble of subscription, and would, in lieu thereof, trust to the honesty of the Directors for his remuneration. In making this generous renunciation, he explained that the 2 per cent and the

3 per cent were meant as returns for the expense of "near £10,000 which he and others had been at, besides his ten years' pains and travel, six whereof were wholly spent in promoting the design of the Company." The minute goes on to say, "It was agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that Mr Paterson have the thanks of this Court for his generous declaration and surrender."

As already mentioned, owing to the hostility of the English Government the London subscribers eventually cancelled their subscriptions and withdrew from the Company. This action on their part consequently left Paterson without any hope of compensation from that quarter.

In the following spring (1696) Paterson visited Scotland for the purpose of assisting the Scottish Directors in the flotation of the Company there, and by the 1st of August the whole capital of £400,000 was subscribed.

On the 6th of October, after having had several business meetings with Paterson in Edinburgh, the Court of Directors voted him the sum of £7500, as an honorarium for the great expense he had been at for several years in making valuable discoveries of trade, &c., and for showing his affection for his native country and the Company by relinquishing

England and his profitable business there, to his own damage and loss. They further promised him a share of the profits of the Company, "proportionate to the success thereof." But, alas! these resolutions, which required the approval of the Council-General of the Company, were never confirmed, and Paterson never received payment from the Company of any of the money thus voted to him.

The disasters at Darien left him bankrupt both in purse and in health. In August 1700, in a letter to the Rev. William Carstares, the Duke of Queensberry says: "Paterson knows nothing yet of my having obtained anything for him; and I am a little embarrassed how to give him what I am allowed for him, lest his party in that Company should conceive any unjust jealousy of him, or he himself think that I intend as a bribe that which is really an act of charity."

In the first Parliament of Great Britain (March 1708) the House of Commons passed a resolution in Paterson's favour in regard to his Darien claims, and proposed "that such a recompense be given to him as might be suitable to his services, expenses, losses, and public cares." But notwithstanding this pronouncement, he did not obtain common justice

during Queen Anne's reign, and her Government virtually left him to starve.

On 4th April 1709, when Paterson was in great straits, he addressed a memorial to Queen Anne, which he forwarded through Lord Treasurer Godolphin, accompanying it with the following letter:—

"My Lord,—The dependence I have had upon the public for a settlement in its service, or for some way or other to have a recompense for what I have done for near seven years of Her Majesty's reign, besides former losses, hath at last so reduced me and my family, that without a speedy provision and support from Her Majesty, I must unavoidably perish.

"It was the daily hope of some suitable provision from the Government which first enabled me to support myself, by borrowing at an expense triple to what might have sufficed in a retired life without public business or prospects.

"The expectation of my claim on the Equivalent has kept me up for the last two years; but since that is still postponed, and as it now stands, I can have no relief till next Session of Parliament, and then instead of ready money I can expect only debentures on the growing Equivalent; I am thereby reduced to extreme distress.

"The enclosed Petition to Her Majesty contains the sum of my case, which necessity obliges me now to represent; and I most humbly entreat your Lordship, of whose goodness I have had such particular instances,

to intercede with Her Majesty now, at last, to take some immediate care of me, and so establish me for the future that I may be preserved, and be made further useful during the rest of my life. Humbly hoping for your Lordship's speedy and effectual care of me in this distress.—I am, Your most faithful obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM PATERSON."

The memorial to the queen, which accompanied this letter, narrated that it was he (Paterson) who first proposed and formed the scheme for relieving the public credit by establishing the Bank of England in 1694, for which he had no recompense; that the large share he had afterwards in the proceedings, misfortunes, and losses of the Darien Company, as well as his concern in the true interest of Great Britain, induced him to propose a complete Union, by which these losses might be repaired and future misunderstandings removed; that, in 1705, he formed a scheme for the Union which was favourably entertained, and he spared nothing to forward it, whereupon the Parliament of Scotland recommended him to the queen; and that his long troubles rendered him unable to extricate himself from difficulties without her Majesty's special care and protection. So he prayed the royal countenance to his claims, and in the meantime for his services he asked a

provision for himself and his family so as to subsist, and that he might devote the remainder of his life to the State.

In response to this painful appeal, Paterson appears to have been allowed some small gratuities. His name stands in the Queen's Bounty Lists of 1712 and 1713 for two or three sums of £50 to £100. During all this reign, year after year, he pressed his claims for an indemnity upon Parliament, succeeding in the Commons, but as often defeated in the House of Lords through the opposition of "a violent party." Tradition affirms that at this time he supported himself by teaching mathematics and navigation.

At length, in 1713, a numerous committee of the House of Commons reported in favour of his claims, awarding him the substantial sum of £18,241, 10s. 10⅔d., and a Bill was passed in the House in his favour, which, however, was thrown out by the Lords.

But in 1715, in the first year of the reign of George I., another Bill, intituled "An Act for relieving William Paterson, Esquire, out of the Equivalent Money for what is due to him," was passed into law without opposition, and the long-deferred indemnity was duly paid to him, and his hard trials came to an end.

The indemnity was made up as follows:—

Amount due to Mr Paterson, as voted by the Directors of the Darien Company on 6th October 1696 .	£7,500	0	0
Interest on that sum from 6th October 1696 to 25th March 1713 . .	6,175	15	0
Expenses incurred by Mr Paterson from 6th October 1696 to 1st May 1707, the date of the dissolution of the Company by the Union	5,250	0	0
	£18,925	15	0
Less—Sums already paid to Mr Paterson, with interest . . .	684	4	1⅓
Leaving amount of indemnity payable to Mr Paterson	£18,241	10	10⅔

It is somewhat strange that even in the present day there appears to be doubt as to the ultimate treatment of Paterson by the Government; and, indeed, in some quarters the belief is still entertained that he never received payment of the indemnity awarded to him. In this connection there is included in the Appendix (D.) a detailed and interesting official letter on the subject, addressed to 'The Scotsman' a few years ago, by the late Mr James Simpson Fleming, F.R.S.E., Cashier (General Manager) of the Royal Bank of Scotland, the banking corporation which was the lineal successor to the "Equivalent Company." The letter is conclusive, and removes all dubiety on the point.

One of the immediate effects of the pecuniary relief now afforded to Paterson was to stimulate him to further labours on behalf of the State. In 1715 he circulated the draft of his plan for the redemption of the National Debt among the members of both Houses of Parliament. This, his last important financial treatise, he published in 1717, two years before his death, as a continuation and conclusion to his previous work, 'The Wednesday's Club Dialogues' of 1706.

As already mentioned, he had to support himself for some years by borrowing money at excessive rates of interest on the strength of his claims on the Equivalent; but now he was happily enabled to discharge his obligations. Not only so, but he was placed in a position to gratify his benevolent inclinations. Mr Bannister states that, while his name occurs in the books of the Royal Scottish Corporation in Crane Court for small sums during the years of his distress, he appears in them, after he had received his Darien indemnity, as one of the most liberal givers to that charity.

Paterson made his will on the 1st of July 1718, in which he had the satisfaction of bequeathing a sum of about £7000 to his relatives, and a special legacy of £1000 to his old friend and executor, Mr Paul Daranda, merchant, London. As the

Parliamentary grant of 1715 was £18,000, this points to the sum of £10,000 as having been absorbed in payment of his debts. Mr Bannister states that Paterson died in January 1719, and that in an obituary notice in the 'Register' of 1718-19 he is referred to as "the great calculator."

COPY OF THE WILL OF WILLIAM PATERSON.

"I, WILLIAM PATERSON, of the city of Westminster, Esquire, being in good health of body and mind, for which I most humbly thank and praise Almighty God, the ever blessed Maker and Preserver of all, do make this my last will and testament. After my debts paid, I give to Elizabeth, my daughter-in-law, only child to my first wife, Mrs Elizabeth Turner, relict to the late Mr Thomas Bridge, minister of the gospel in Boston, in New England, fifteen hundred pounds. 2nd, I give to my eldest daughter-in-law, Anne, by my second wife, Mrs Hannah Kemp, married to Mr Samuel South, six hundred pounds. 3rd, I give to my second daughter-in-law, Mary, married to Mr Mark Holman, six hundred pounds. 4th, I give to my two other daughters-in-law, Hannah and Elizabeth Kemp, eight hundred pounds each. 5th, I give to Jane Kemp, relict of the late Mr James Kemp, my son-in-law, three hundred pounds. 6th, I give to William Mounsey, eldest son of my late sister Janet, two hundred pounds. 7th, I give to the two daughters of my said late sister Janet, Elizabeth and Janet, two hundred pounds each. 8th, I give to

John Mounsey, younger son of my said late sister Janet, four hundred pounds. 9th, I give to my only sister Elizabeth, married to John Paterson, younger of Kinharvey, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, eight hundred pounds. 10th, I give the surplus of my estate, if, after payment of my debts, any such shall be, to be equally divided among the said persons, legatees, in proportion to every person's sum hereby bequeathed; all which sums above given, amounting to six thousand and four hundred pounds, I appoint to be paid by my executor here immediately afternamed. I do hereby appoint my good friend, Mr Paul Daranda, of London, merchant, to whom I and my family are under very great obligations, sole executor of this my last will; and I do allow him, as my sole executor, one thousand pounds for his care therein, over his expenses with relation hereto. Lastly, I revoke all other wills by me heretofore made. In witness whereof, I have hereto subscribed my name and put my seal, at Westminster, this first day of July 1718, in the sixtieth year and third month of my age. WILLIAM PATERSON.

Witnesses—
ED. BAGSHAWE,
HEN. DOLLAN,
JOHN BUTLER."

On the 3rd July 1718, the testator certified the making of his will "at the Ship Tavern, without Temple Bar, about four in the afternoon." The will was proved in Doctors' Commons on 22nd January 1719 o.s.

Paterson's career is dramatic enough to form a story of thrilling interest.

In estimating his life-work, it is unfair to give the Darien failure, which was no fault of his, too prominent a place, to the exclusion of his many other eminent labours.

As we have seen, he originated the Bank of England, and gave substantial help to the Government Commissioners in Scotland when they were carrying on the Union negotiations. He had a profound knowledge of finance, and for years, and until his death, was a trusted counsellor of the Ministers of his day. He stood out as a vigorous opponent of inconvertible paper currency, when that financial delusion was popular under the lead of the notorious John Law; and this opposition prevented its adoption so far as Scotland was concerned. His scheme for the redemption of the National Debt, which formed the basis of "Walpole's Sinking Fund" of 1717, was pronounced by 'The Economist' of 23rd October 1858 to be "faultless."

On many other questions he was far ahead of his time, and quite abreast of public opinion of our own day. He was one of the first to propose the formation of public libraries; and, in 1703, he offered his own valuable collection of books and pamphlets on economic subjects, in English,

French, German, and Dutch, to form the nucleus of a public library for the study of trade and finance.[1]

He advocated free trade when others called for protection and monopolies. In his day intolerance in religion was the rule, but he was a lover of religious liberty in its widest sense, and this formed part of the constitution of the Darien Colony. Writing to Lord Provost Chiesly on 9th July 1695, some months before the Company was floated, he says: "Above all, it is needful for us to make no distinction of parties in this great and noble undertaking; but that of whatever nation or religion a man be, he ought to be looked upon, if one of us, to be of the same interest and inclination."

He also held enlightened views on outstanding social questions: he advocated universal education, the useful employment of offenders, and freedom from imprisonment for honest debtors.

In all his labours for the general weal, his aims were entirely unselfish and pure. He wrote anonymously, deeming his reward to be

[1] "The catalogue of this collection is preserved in the British Museum. . . . This library anticipated, by thirty years, the Commercial Library of Hamburg, stated before Mr Ewart's Committee to have been the *first* of such *special* collections made in any country."—See article entitled "The Scottish Colony of Darien, 1698-1700," in 'The Retrospective Review,' vol. i., 1853.

sufficient if his writings proved useful to his fellow-men. There is thus singular fitness in the motto, *Sic vos non vobis*, "Thus you (toil) not for yourselves," inscribed under the only portrait of him that we possess.

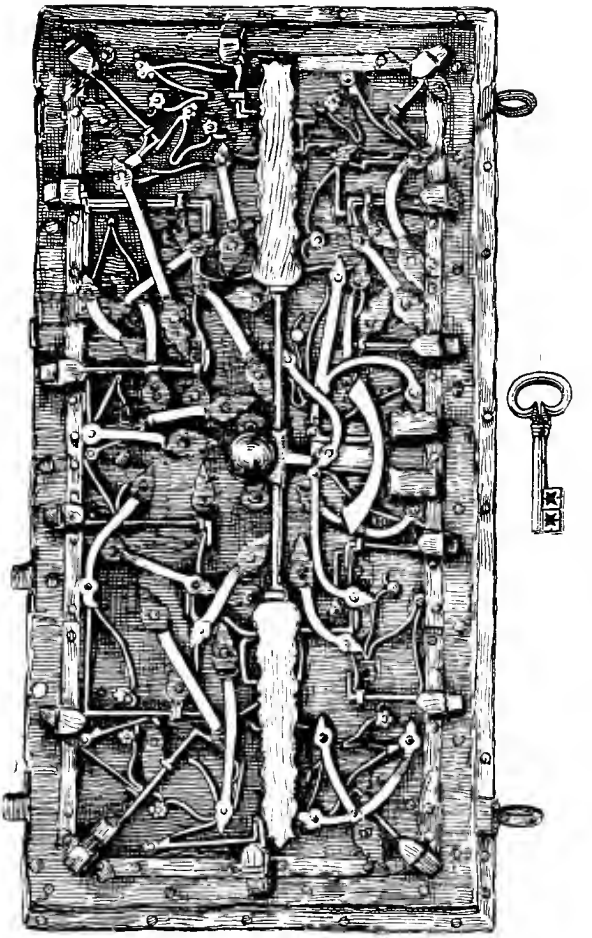
He was a deeply religious man, and knew his Bible "by heart," making apt quotations from it in most of his publications. When the deaths occurred of Mr Thomas James and Mr Adam Scot, the two Presbyterian ministers who accompanied the first expedition to Darien, he personally took the earliest opportunity to have their places filled. Writing from Darien on 18th February 1699 to a friend at Boston, New England, he says: "We have been exceeding unhappy in losing two ministers, who came with us from Scotland, and if New England could supply us in that, it would be a great and lasting obligation." Further, it would appear in his inception of the Darien scheme that, along with trade, he had conceived the idea of propagating the Gospel among the pagan natives in the "regions beyond." In the letter to Lord Provost Chiesly just quoted, he concludes with these words: "So hoping that Almighty God, who at this time seems to have fitted so many able instruments both of our nation and others, and given us such an opportunity as others have not, will perfect the begun work, and make some

use of Scotland also to visit those dark places of the earth whose transactions are full of cruelty."

But perhaps the crowning feature of Paterson's character was the lofty spirit which animated his whole conduct. In his long years of distress, and when his services were requited with obloquy and his motives misconstrued, he could not be induced, even in controversy, to show any vindictive feeling or give an angry retort, and thus his noble heart never disgraced itself.

He was held in high esteem by those who knew him best. Notwithstanding that the people of his native Dumfriesshire lost heavily by the Darien scheme, and were bitterly opposed to the Union, he was returned to the first united Parliament in 1707 along with William Johnston. But, upon petition, the House decided that it was a double election, and he was unseated. It may also be mentioned to his honour that, in 1710, Moll dedicated his folio map of the West Indies to him, other maps of the same series being inscribed to Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Somers, and other great men.

In the light of this record of the life-work of a Scotsman who flourished two centuries ago, is it too much to express the hope that Paterson's memory will be kept fresh and green "as long as rivers run, and gold is found in Darien"?



IRON LID OF TREASURE-CHEST OF DARIEN COMPANY,

WITH COMPLICATED LOCK OF 15 SPRING-BOLTS,

IN THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Act of Parliament constituting THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND, TRADING TO AFRICA AND THE INDIES.

(King William III., Parl. I., Sess. 5.)

EDINBURGH, *June* 26th, 1695.

OUR SOVERAIGN LORD taking into his Consideration, that by an Act past in this present Parliament, Intituled, *Act for encouraging of Forraign Trade;* His Majesty for Improvement thereof did with Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, Statute and Declare, That Merchants more or fewer may Contract and enter into such Societies and Companies, for carrying on of Trade, as to any subject of Goods or Merchandise to whatsomever Kingdom, Countries, or parts of the World, not being in War with His Majesty, where Trade is in use to be, or may be followed, and particularly beside the Kingdoms and Countries of EUROPE, to the East and West INDIES, the STRAITS, and to trade in the MEDITERRANEAN, or upon the Coast of AFRICA, or in the NORTHERN parts, or else where as above: Which Societies and Companies being contracted and entered into, upon the Terms and in the usual manner, as such Companies are set up, and in use in other parts, consistent alwise with the Laws of this Kingdom: His Majesty with Consent foresaid, did

allow and approve, giving and granting to them and each of them, all Powers, Rights, and Priviledges, as to their Persons, Rules and Orders. That by the Laws are given to Companies allowed to be erected for Manufactories: And His Majesty for their greater encouragement, did promise to give to these Companies, and each of them his Letters patent under the great Seal, confirming to them the whole foresaid Powers and Priviledges, with what other Encouragement His Majesty should judge needful, as the foresaid Act of Parliament at more length bears. And His Majesty understanding that several Persons as well Forreigners as Natives of this Kingdom, are willing to engage themselves with great Sums of Money in an AMERICAN, AFRICAN and INDIAN Trade to be exercised in and from this Kingdom; if enabled and encouraged thereunto, by the Concessions, Powers and Priviledges needful and usual in such cases, Therefore, and in pursuance of the foresaid Act of Parliament, his Majesty, with Advice and Consent of the saids Estates of Parliament, Doth hereby make and constitute JOHN Lord BELHAVEN, ADAM COCKBURN of ORMISTOUN Lord Justice Clerk, Mr FRANCIS MONTGOMERY of GIFFEN, Sir JOHN MAXWEL of POLLOCK, Sir ROBERT CHIESLY present Provost of EDINBURGH, JOHN SWINTOUN of that Ilk, GEORGE CLERK late Baillie of EDINBURGH, Mr ROBERT BLACKWOOD and JAMES BALFOUR Merchants in EDINBURGH, and JOHN CORSE Merchant in GLASGOW, WILLIAM PATERSON Esquire, JAMES FOWLIS, DAVID NAIRN Esquires, THOMAS DEANS Esquire, JAMES CHIESLY, JOHN SMITH,[1] THOMAS COUTES, HUGH FRAZER, JOSEPH COHAINE, DAVES OVEDO,[1] and WALTER STUART Merchants in LONDON, with such others as shall joyn with them within the space of twelve Months after the first day of AUGUST next, and all others whom the foresaids persons and these joyned with them, or

[1] These two promoters are misnamed in the Act. By minute of a meeting of the Company, held in London on 9th November 1695, the names were corrected to "James Smith" and "Joseph Cohen D'Azevedo."

major part of them, being assembled, shall admit and joyn into their Joynt-stock and Trade, who shall all be Repute, as if herein originally insert to be one Body Incorporat, and a free Incorporation with perpetual Succession, by the Name of The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies: Providing always, Likeas, it is hereby in the first place provided, that of the Fond or Capital Stock that shall be agreed to be advanced and imployed by the foresaid Undertakers, and their Co-partners, the half at least shall be appointed and alloted for SCOTISH Men within this Kingdom, who shall enter and subscribe to the said Company, before the first day of AUGUST, one thousand six hundred and ninety six Years: And if it shall happen, that SCOTS Men living within this Kingdom, shall not betwixt and the foresaid Term, subscribe for and make up the equal half of the said Fond or Capital Stock, Then and in that case allenarly, it shall be, and is hereby allowed to SCOTS Men residing Abroad, or to Forraigners to come in, Subscribe, and be assumed for the Superplus of the said half, and no otherwise: Likeas, the Quota of every man's part of the said Stock whereupon he shall be capable to enter into the said Company, whether he be Native or Forraigner, shall be for the least one hundred lib. Ster. and for the highest or greatest three thousand lib. Ster. and no more directly nor indirectly in any sort: with power to the said Company to have a common Seal, and to alter and renew the same at their pleasure, with Advice always of the Lyon King at Arms; as also, to Plead and Sue, and be Sued, and to Purchase, Acquire, Possess, and enjoy Lordships, Lands, Tenements, or other Estate real or personal, of whatsoever Nature or Quality, and to dispose upon, and alienat the same, or any part thereof at their pleasure, and that by Transfers and Assignment, made and entered in their Books and Records without any other Formality of Law, providing always, that such Shares as are first subscribed for by SCOTS Men within this Kingdom, shall not be alienable to any other than SCOTS Men living within this Kingdom: That the foresaid Transfers and Convoyances, as

to Lands and other real Estate (when made of these only and apart) be perfected according to the Laws of this Kingdom anent the Convoyance of Lands and real Rights, with power likewise to the foresaid Company, by Subscriptions or otherwise, as they shall think fit, to raise a joint Stock or Capital Fond of such a Sum or Sums of Money, and under and subject unto such Rules, Conditions and Qualifications, as, by the foresaid Company, or major part of them, when assembled, shall be limited and appointed to begin, carry on and support their intended Trade of Navigation, and whatever may contribute to the Advancement thereof. And it is hereby declared, that the said joint Stock or Capital Fond, or any part thereof, or any Estate, real or personal, Ships, Goods, or other Effects of, and belonging to the said Company, shall not be lyable unto any manner of Confiscation, Seizure, Forefaulture, Attachment, Arrest or Restraint, for and by reason of any Embargo, Breach of Peace, Letters of Mark or Reprisal, Declaration of War with any Forraign Prince, Potentate or State, or upon any other account or pretence whatsomever; but shall only be transferable, assignable, or alienable in such way and manner, and in such parts and portions, and under such Restrictions, Rules and Conditions, as the said Company shall, by writing in and upon their Books, Records and Registers, direct and appoint, and these Transfers and Assignments only, and no other, shall convoy the Right and Property in and to the said joint Stock and Capital Fond, and Effects thereof above-mentioned, or any part of the same, Excepting always as is above-excepted, and that the Creditors of any particular Member of the Company may, by their real Diligence, affect the share of the profit falling and pertaining to the Debitor, without having any further Right or power of the Debitor's part and Interest in the Stock or Capital Fond, otherways than is above-appointed, and with this express provision, that whatever Charges the Company may be put to, by the contending of any of their Members deceased, or of their Assigney, Creditors to any other persons in their Rights, the Company

shall have Retention of their Charges and Expenses in the first place, and the Books, Records and Registers of the said Company, or Authentick Abstracts, or Extracts out of the same, are hereby declared to be good and sufficient for Evidents in all Courts of Judicature, and elsewhere. And His Majesty, with Advice foresaid, farder Statutes and Declares, that the said JOHN Lord BELHAVEN, ADAM COCKBURN of ORMISTOUN Lord Justice Clerk, Mr FRANCIS MONTGOMERY of GIFFEN, Sir JOHN MAXWEL of POLLOOK, Sir ROBERT CHIESLY present Provost of EDINBURGH, JOHN SWINTOUN of that Ilk, GEORGE CLERK late Baillie of EDINBURGH, Mr ROBERT BLACKWOOD, and JAMES BALFOUR, Merchants in EDINBURGH, and JOHN CORSE Merchant in GLASGOW, WILLIAM PATERSON Esquire, JAMES FOWLIS, DAVID NAIRN Esquires, THOMAS DEANS Esquire, JAMES CHIESLY, JOHN SMITH, THOMAS COUTES, HUGH FRAZER, JOSEPH COHAINE, DAVES OVEDO, and WALTER STUART Merchants in LONDON, and others to be joined with, or assumed by them in manner above-mentioned, and their Successors, or major part of them assembled in the said Company, shall, and may, in all time coming, by the plurality of Votes, agree, make, constitute, and ordain all such other Rules, Ordinances and Constitutions, as may be needful for the better Government and Improvement of their joint Stock, or Capital Fond, in all matters and things relating thereunto: To which Rules, Ordinances and Constitutions, all persons belonging to the said Company, as well Directors as Members thereof, Governours, or other Officers, Civil or Military, or others whatsoever, shall be subject, and hereby concluded; As also, to administrat and take Oaths *de fideli*, and others requisit to the Management of the foresaid Stock and Company. And the said Company is hereby Impowered to Equipp, Fit, Set out, Fraught and Navigat their own, or hired Ships, in such manner as they shall think fit, and that for the space of ten years from the Date hereof, notwithstanding of the Act of Parliament one thousand six hundred and sixty one years, Intituled, *Act for Encouraging of Shipping and Navigation*, wherewith

His Majesty, with Consent foresaid, dispenses for the same time allenarly, in favours of the said Company, and that from any of the Ports or Places within this Kingdom, or from any other parts or places in Amity, or not in Hostility with His Majesty, in Warlike or other manner to any Lands, Islands, Countreys, or places in ASIA, AFRICA, or AMERICA, and there to plant Collonies, build Cities, Towns or Forts, in or upon the places not inhabited, or in, or upon any other place, by Consent of the Natives and Inhabitants thereof, and not possest by any European Soveraign, Potentate, Prince, or State, and to provide and furnish the foresaid Places, Cities, Towns, or Forts, with Magazines, Ordinances, Arms, Weapons, Ammunition, and Stores of War, and by Force of Arms to defend their Trade and Navigation, Collonies, Cities, Towns, Forts, and Plantations, and other their Effects whatsoever; As also, to make Reprisals, and to seek and take Reparation of Damnage done by Sea or by Land, and to make and conclude Treaties of Peace and Commerce with the Soveraigns, Princes, Estates, Rulers, Governours, or Proprietors of the foresaid Lands, Islands, Countreys, or Places in ASIA, AFRICA or AMERICA; Providing always, Likeas, it is hereby specially provided, that all Ships imployed by them, shall return to this Kingdom with their Effects, under the pain of Confiscation, Forefaulture, and Seizure of the Ships and Goods, in case of breaking of Bulk before their Return, excepting the case of necessity, for preserving the Ship, Company, and Loadning allenarly. And His Majesty, with Consent foresaid, doth farder Statute and Ordain, that none of the Liedges of this Kingdom shall, or may Trade or Navigat to any Lands, Islands, Countries, or Places in ASIA, or AFRICA, in any time hereafter, or in AMERICA, for and during the space of thirty one years, to be counted from the passing of this present Act, without License or Permission in writing from the said Company: Certifying all such as shall do in the contrary hereof, that they shall Forefault and Omit the third part of the Ship, or Ships, and of the Cargo, or Cargoes therein-imployed, or the Value thereof, the one half

to His Majesty as Escheat, and the other half to the Use and Benefite of the said Company: For the effectual Execution whereof, it shall be Lawful to the said Company, or any imployed by them, to Seize the saids Ships and Goods in any place of ASIA, or AFRICA, or at Sea upon the Coasts of ASIA and AFRICA, upon the Transgression foresaid, by Force of Arms, and at their own hand, and that without the Hazard of incurring any Crime, or Delinquency whatsomever, on Account of the said Seizure, or any thing necessarly done in prosecution thereof; Excepting always, and without prejudice to any of the Subjects of this Kingdom, to Trade and Navigat, during the said space, to any part of AMERICA, where the Collonies, Plantations, or Possessions of the said Company shall not be settled. And it is furder hereby Enacted, That the said Company shall have the Free and Absolute Right and Property, only Relieving and Holding of His Majesty, and His Successors in Soveraignity, for the only Acknowledgment of their Alledgiance, and paying yearly a Hogshead of Tobacco, in Name of Blench Duty, if required allenarly, in, and to all such Lands, Islands, Collonies, Cities, Towns, Forts, and Plantations, that they shall come to establish, or possess in manner foresaid: As also, to all manner of Treasures, Wealth, Riches, Profites, Mines, Minerals, Fishings, with the whole Product and Benefite thereof, as well under as above the Ground, and as well in Rivers and Seas, as in the Lands thereto belonging, or from, or by reason of the same in any sort, together with the Right of Government and Admirality thereof; And that the said Company may, by vertue hereof, grant and delegat such Rights, Properties, Powers, and Immunities, and permit and allow such sort of Trade, Commerce, and Navigation into their Plantations, Collonies, Cities, Towns, or Places of their Possession, as the said Company, from time to time, shall judge fit and convenient, with power to them to impose and exact such Customs, and other Duties upon and from themselves, and others Trading with, and coming to the said Plantations, Cities, Towns, Places and Ports, and

Harbours thereof, as the Company shall think needful for the Maintainance and other publick Uses of the same, Holding always, and to Hold the whole Premisies of His Majesty, and His Successors, Kings of SCOTLAND, as Soveraigns thereof, and paying only for the same, their Acknowledgment and Alledgiance with a Hogshead of Tobacco yearly, in Name of Blench Duty, if required, for all other Duty, Service, Claim, or Demand whatsomever. With Power and Liberty to the said Company to treat for, and to procure and purchase such Rights, Liberties, Priviledges, Exemptions, and other Grants, as may be convenient for supporting, promoting, and enlarging their Trade and Navigation from any Forraign Potentate or Prince whatsoever, in Amity with His Majesty; For which the General Treaties of Peace and Commerce betwixt His Majestie and such Potentates, Princes or States, shall serve for sufficient Security, Warrand and Authority; And if, contrary to the saids Rights, Liberties, Priviledges, Exemptions, Grants or Agreements, any of the Ships, Goods, Merchandise, Persons or other Effects whatsoever, belonging to the said Company, shall be stopt, detained, embazled, or away taken, or in any sort prejudged or damnified, His Majesty promises to Interpose His Authority, to have Restitution, Reparation and Satisfaction made for the Damage done, and that upon the publick Charge, which His Majesty shall cause depurse, and lay out for that Effect. And farder, it is hereby Statute, That all Ships, Vessels, Merchandise, Goods, and other Effects whatsoever, belonging to the said Company, shall be free of all manner of Restraints, or Prohibitions, and of all Customs, Taxes, Cesses, Supplies, or other Duties Imposed, or to be Imposed by Act of Parliament, or otherwise, for and during the space of twenty-one years, excepting alwise the whole Duties of Tobacco and Suggar, that are not of the Growth of the Plantations of the said Company. And farder, it is Enacted, That the said Company, by Commission under their common Seal, or otherwise, as they shall appoint, may make and constitute all and every their Directors, Governours and Commanders in Chief and other Officers Military

or Civil, by Sea or by Land; As likewise, That the said Company may Inlist, Inroll and Hire, and Retain all such persons Subjects of this Kingdom, or others whatsoever, as shall be willing and consent to enter in their Service or Pay, providing always, that they Uplift or Levy none within the Kingdom to be Soldiers, without Leave or Warrand first obtained from His Majesty, or the Lords of His Privy Council, over which Directors, Governours, Commanders in Chief, or other Officers Civil or Military, or others whatsoever in their Service and Pay, the Company shall have the Power, Command and Disposition both by Sea and Land. And it is farder Statute, That no Officer Civil or Military, or other person whatsoever within this Kingdom, shall Impress, Entertain, Stop, or Detain any of the Members, Officers, Servants, or others whatsoever, of, or belonging to the said Company; And in case the said Company, their Officers or Agents, shall find or understand any of their Members, Officers, Servants, and others aforesaid, to be Impressed, Stopped, or Detained, they are hereby Authorized and Allowed to take Hold of, and Release the foresaid person Impressed, or Stopped in any part of this Kingdom, either by Land or Water, and all Magistrats, and others His Majestie's Officers Civil and Military, and all others, are hereby Required, in their respective Stations, to be Aiding and Assisting to the said Company, under the pain of being lyable to all the Loss, Dammage and Detriment of the said Company, by reason of the foresaid persons their Neglect. And farder, That the said Company, whole Members, Officers, Servants, or others belonging thereto, shall be free both in their Persons, Estates and Goods imployed in the said Stock and Trade, from all manner of Taxes, Cesses, Supplies, Excises, Quartering of Soldiers Transient or Local, or Levying of Soldiers, or other Impositions whatsoever, and that for and during the space of twenty one years. And lastly, all persons concerned, or to be concerned in this Company, are hereby Declared to be free Denizons of this Kingdom, and that they, with all that shall settle to Inhabit, or be born in any of the foresaid Plantations, Collonies, Cities,

Towns, Factories, and other places that shall be purchast and possessed by the said Company, shall be repute as Natives of this Kingdom, and have the Priviledges thereof. And generally, without prejudice of the Specialities foresaid, His Majesty, with Consent foresaid, Gives and Grants to the said Company, all Power, Rights and Priviledges, as to their Persons, Rules, Orders, Estates, Goods, and Effects whatsoever, that by the Laws are given to Companies allowed to be erected for Manufactories, or that are usually given in any other Civil Kingdom or Common-wealth, to any Company there erected for Trade and Commerce. And for the better Establishment and greater Solemnity of this Act and Gift, in favours of the said Company, His Majesty doth farder Ordain Letters Patent to be expede hereupon, containing the whole Premisses under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, for doing whereof *per saltum*, These Presents shall be sufficient Warrand both to the Director and Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, as use is in like Cases.

Note.—By two succeeding Acts of the Scottish Parliament—viz.,

King William III., Parl. I., Sess. 8-9, 31st January 1701, and

Queen Anne, Parl. I., Sess. 1, 16th September 1703, the powers and immunities of the African and Indian Company were confirmed and continued.

APPENDIX B.

CALEDONIA.

THE DECLARATION OF THE COUNCIL CONSTITUTED BY THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN COMPANY OF SCOTLAND, FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND DIRECTION OF THEIR COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE INDIES.

THE said Company pursuant to the Powers and Immunities granted unto them by His Majesty of Great Britain, our Soveraign Lord, with advice and consent of His Parliament of Scotland, having granted and conceded unto us and our successors in the Government for all times hereafter, full power to equip, set out, freight, and navigate our own or hired ships, in warlike or other manner, from any ports or places in amity, or not in hostility with His Majesty; to any Lands, Islands, Countries, or Places in Asia, Africa or America; and there to plant Colonies, build Cities, Towns or Forts, in or upon the places not inhabited, or in or upon any other place by consent of the Natives or Inhabitants thereof; and not possest by an European Soveraign, Potentate, Prince or State; and to provide and furnish the aforesaid places, cities, towns or forts, with Magazines, Ordnance, Arms, Weapons, Ammunition and Stores of War; and by force of Arms to defend the same trade navigation, colonies, cities, towns, forts, plantations and other effects whatsoever; and likewise to make Reprizals, and to seek and take reparation of damage done by sea or by Land; and to make and conclude Treaties of Peace and Commerce with soveraign

Princes, Estates, Rulers, Governors, or Proprietors of the aforesaid Lands, Islands, Countries or Places in Asia, Africa, or America.

And reserving to themselves five per cent, or one twentieth part of the Lands, Mines, Minerals, Stones of Value, precious woods, and fishings, have further conceded and granted unto us, the free and absolute right and property in and to all such lands, islands, colonies, towns, forts and plantations, as we shall come to establish or possess in manner aforesaid; as also all manner of Treasures, Wealth, Riches, Profits, Mines, Minerals and Fishings, with the whole product and benefit thereof, as well under as above ground, as well in Rivers and Seas as in the Lands thereto belonging; or for or by reason of the same in any port, together with the right of Government and Admiralty thereof; as likewise that all manner of persons who shall settle to inhabit, or be born in any such plantations, colonies, cities, towns, factories, or places shall be, and be reputed as Natives of the Kingdom of Scotland. And generally the said Company have communicated unto us a right of all the powers, properties, and privileges granted unto them by Act of Parliament, or otherwise howsoever, with power to grant and delegate the same, and to permit and allow such sort of trade, commerce and navigation unto the plantations, colonies, cities and places of our possession, as we shall think fit and convenient.

And the Chief Captains and Supreme Leaders of the people of Darien in compliance with former agreements, having now in most kind and obliging manner received us into their friendship and country, with promise and contract to assist and join in defence thereof against such as shall be their or our Enemies in any time to come. Which, besides its being one of the most healthful, rich and fruitful countries upon earth hath the advantage of being a narrow Isthmus, seated in the height of the World, between two vast Oceans, which renders it more convenient than any other for being the Common Storehouse of the unsearchable and immense treasures of the spacious South Seas, the door

of commerce to China and Japan, and the Emporium and Staple for the trade of both Indies.

And now by virtue of the before mentioned powers to us given, we do here settle and in the name of God establish ourselves; and in Honour and for the Memory of that most Ancient and Renowned Name of our Mother-Kingdom, We do, and will from henceforward call this Country by the name of CALEDONIA; and ourselves, successors, and associates, by the name of CALEDONIANS.

And suitable to the weight and greatness of the Trust reposed, and the valuable opportunity now in our hands, being firmly resolved to communicate and dispose thereof in the most just and equal manner for increasing the Dominions and Subjects of the King our Soveraign Lord, the Honour and Wealth of our Country, as well as the benefit and advantage of those who now are, or may hereafter be concerned with us; We do hereby declare, that all manner of people soever, shall from henceforward be equally free and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of Government granted unto us; and the Merchants and Merchants' ships of all nations, may freely come to and trade with us, without being liable in their persons, goods or effects, to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition, for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of mark, or reprizals, declaration of war with any foreign Prince, Potentate or State, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever.

And We do hereby not only grant and concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of, or concerned with us; but also a full and free liberty of Conscience in matter of Religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at, or indulge the blaspheming of God's holy Name, or any of His Divine Attributes; or the unhallowing or profaning the Sabbath Day.

And finally, as the best and surest means to render any Government successful, durable, and happy, it shall (by the

help of Almighty God) be ever our constant and chiefest care, that all our further Constitutions, Laws, and Ordinances, be consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture, right Reason, and the Examples of the wisest and justest nations, that from the Truth and Righteousness thereof we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of Prosperity and Increase.

New Edinburgh,
December 28, 1698.

By Order of the Council,

Hugh Ross,
Secretary.

APPENDIX C.

CALEDONIA.

Rules and Ordinances by the Parliament of Caledonia, for the good Government of the Colony.

The Council and Deputies assembled in Parliament, pursuant to the trust reposed, and the powers and immunities granted, by his Majesty of Great Britain, our Soverayn Lord, communicated and transmitted unto them by the Indian and African Company of Scotland, have, for the good order and government of this Colony, after mature deliberation, agreed and concluded upon the following Rules and Ordinances, as appearing most reasonable, equal and sutable, to be from this time forward binding and obliging; and for that effect, that an ordinary Judicatur, or Court of Justice, be appointed, to consist of such and such number of persons as the Council shall think convenient; the which shall have power to choose their President, and to name and appoint clerks, servants, and all other officers needfull, and to proceed upon, judge, and determin all causes, crimes, and punishments, by and according to the following Rules and Ordinances, which wee do hereby appoint and ordain to have the full force and effect of lawes, within this Colony and its Dependences, by land and sea:—

1. In the first place, it is herehy provided and declared, that the precepts, instructions, examples, commands, and prohibitions exprest and contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, shall not only be binding and obliging,

and have the full force and effect of lawes, within this Colony, but are, were, and of right ought to be, the standard, rule, and measure to all the further and other constitutions, rules, and ordinances thereof.

2. He who shall blaspheme or prophane the name of Almighty God, or any of his Divine Attributes, or use any curse or imprecation, after publick acknowledgement, shall suffer three days imprisonment, and confinement to bread, water, and hard labour, for the first offence, and, for the second offence, shall suffer the said punishment for thirty dayes, and, for every other offence, shall be punished at the discretion of the Justiciary Court.

3. Whosoever shall behave himselfe disrespectfully towards the Council, or any of the Councillours, or towards his own or any other officer of this Colony, or shall speak words tending to their or any of their hurt or dishonour, or shall know of such behaviour, or words spoken, and shall not reveal the same with all convenient speed, shall be punished according to the nature of their offence, and quality and circumstances thereof, in the judgement of the Justiciary Court.

4. No man shall, upon pain of death, hold correspondence, give advice, or keep intelligence with any rebell or enemy, as also he who shall know of any such intelligence, and shall not, with all convenient speed, discover the same, and the party or parties therein concerned, to the Council, or some one of the Councillours, or to his superior officer, shall likewayes be lyable to the same punishment.

5. He who shall entice or persuade another, or others, to any rebellious act against the Council and Government of this Colony, shall incurr the pain of death; and whosoever shall know of such offence, and shall not discover the same to the Council, or to some one of the Councillours, or to his superior officer, shall incurr the same punishment.

6. No man shall presume to contrive, endeavour, or cause any mutiny or sedition within this Colony, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think fit.

7. Whosoever shall disobey his superior Officer, or resist him in the execution of his office, or shall oppose or resist any of the Magistrates or Officers of this Colony, in the execution of their duty and trust, shall suffer the pains of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think fit.

8. He who shall violat any protection, or safe conduct, granted by the Council, and knowing the same, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think just.

9. He who shall use any provocking or upbraiding words or gestures, or shall give the ly, or any manner of reproachful, scandalous, or injurious names, to another of equal quality and degree with himselfe, whither present or absent, or shall strike, or threaten to strike, such a one with his hand, stick, sword in the scabard, whip, stone, or any thing of like nature, shall, besides giving honourable satisfaction to the party injured upon his knees, be therfore condemned to hard labour at the publick works for the space of six moneths; from which labour he shall not desist, withdraw, nor desert, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think meet: and if such affronts or injuries shall be given or offered to a superiour, the party offending shall be lyable to double the said punishment at least; and if to an inferiour, the same shall be proportioned sutable to the nature of the case, and the circumstances of the parties concerned.

10. No man shall presume to fight a duel with, or send a challenge to, another; nor shall any one presume to accept of such a challenge or appointment to fight, upon pain of the severest death and highest infamy: And all seconds in duels and appointments to fight, and such as shall know thereof, and shall not reveal the same, and the persons concerned, with all convenient speed, shall be equally lyable to the same punishment.

11. He who shall wilfully hurt or maim any other, shall, sutable to the loss and value of his time, and the grieffe and pain thereby occasioned, as also the expence of curing, and

disability of body therby happening, be lyable to make full satisfaction; and if the offender have not to pay, he shall become a servant, and shall so continow, untill full reparation be made to the party injured; and, generaly, the like full reparation shall not only be made for all manner of hurts, violences, wrongs, and damages done, or caused or offered to be done, but the offender may be further punished, if the nature of the case shall require the same.

12. It shall be death for any man presumptuously and willfully to assault another by such means and weapons as shall put him in evident hazard or danger of his life.

13. All murder, or wilful killing of any person, shall be punished with death.

14. He who shall force a woman to abuse her, whether she belong to an enemy or not, shall suffer death for it.

15. It shall be death to steal, or forcibly to cary or convoy away from this colony, or its dependencies, any man, woman, or child.

16. House-breaking, and all sorts of robing, or forcible thifts, shall be punished with loss of life, or of liberty, at the will of the Justiciary Court.

17. A thieffe shall be oblidged to restore fourfold of the species or value of the thing stollen and damnage done, the one-halfe to the party injured, and the other to be equally divided between the government of this colony and the discoverer of the theft. And if the thiefe have not to pay, he shall be condemned to hard service and labour at the publick or other works, untill full restitution of the value of the things stolen and damnage done be made, and shall be afterwards obliged to serve the government of this colony, and the discoverer of the theft, for the space of a whole year.

18. All robing of Indian plantations or houses, stealing or taking of provisions, or other things belonging to them, without their free consent, shall be punished as theft.

19. Cuting or breaking down, or otherwayes spoiling of plantan-walks, orange, leamon, or lime trees, or other trees or fruits of use and for suport of life, and all other willful waste and spoil, shall be punished as theft.

20. Whosoever shall presume to sell, imbesle, or willfuly spoile, break, or convoy away any arms, ammunition, axes, hatchets, spades, shovels, pickaxes, or other necessars or stores of warr, or working-tools, belonging to the colony, whether committed to their trust or otherwise, shall be punished as thieves.

21. All willfull and apparent breach of trust, and designed fraud and cheating, shall be punished as theft.

22. All giving and taking of bribes, in order to delay, deny, or pervert justice, shall be punished as theft.

23. Things that are found may not be concealed, but shall be restored to the owner, if known, with all convenient speed; and where the owner is not known, publick intimation thereof shall be given, otherwise the finder shall become lyable to suffer as a thiefe.

24. Benefits received, and good services done, shall always be generously and thankfuly compensated, whether a prior agreement or bargain hath been made or not; and if it shall hapen to be otherwise, and the benefactor be obliged justly to complain of the ingratitude, the ungrateful shall, in such case, be obliged to give threefold satisfaction at least.

25. Whosoever shall absent himselfe, go away from, or desert the service of this Colony, or that of any particular person to whom they are bound, besides due chastisement of whiping, shall be obliged to serve a week for every day of such their absence or desertion.

26. No man shall be confined or detained prisoner for above the space of three moneths, without being brought to a lawful trial.

27. All lands, goods, debts, and other effects whatsoever and wheresoever, (except the needful and proper working tools of a mechanick, the proper books of a student or man of reading, and the proper and absolutely necessar wearing cloaths of any person,) shall in the most ready, easy, and absolute manner, be subject to the just and equal satisfaction of debts; but the person of a free man shall not in any sort be lyable to arreasts, imprisonment, or other restraints what-

soever, for or by reason of debt, unless there shall be fraud, or the design thereof, or willful or aparent breach of trust, missapplication or concealment first proved upon him.

28. In all cases, Criminal and Capital, no judgement or determination shall pass against any man in the Justiciary Court, without the consent and concurrence of a Jury, consisting of fifteen fit persons, to be nominat and chosen by the said Court, in the ordinary and usual manner, out of such a number as they shall think fit.

29. Upon trials of persons or causes, the Justiciary Court shall proceed to examine the witnesses upon oath, and after having heard the prisoner, the party accused or the party concerned, whether for or against the witnesses. The Judges shall afterwards give their opinions one by one, beginning at the youngest in years, and proceeding to the eldest, and shall conclude by majority of votes; but if the votes be equal, the President shall have a casting voice; and when judgement or sentence is to be given, the President shall pronunce it.

30. No man shall presume to sit in court, much less to act as a Judge, or be of the Jury in the case, and during the time that any cause wherein he is party, or any way interested or concerned, shall be under examination or trial.

31. The Justiciary Court shall keep a clerk or clerks, who shall be sworn to make true and faithful records of all the proceedings of that court.

32. No man shall presume to use any braving words, signs, or gesturs, in any place of Council or Judicatur, whilst the Council or Court is sitting, upon pain of such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Court.

33. All things relating to trade and navigation, and not comprehended in or understood by these ordinances, shall be determined by the most known and practised lawes and customs of merchants, and of the sea.

34. *And lastly*, Evry Judge or Member of the Justiciary Court, and evry one of the Jury shall take a solemn oath, duly to administer justice according to these rules, ordin-

ances, and probation taken, to the best of their understanding.

Fort St Andrew, Aprill 24, 1699.

All the said Rules and Ordinances were read and aproven of, Article by Article, and afterwards past altogether.

COLLIN CAMPBELL, J. P. P.

APPENDIX D.

LETTER, Mr James Simpson Fleming, F.R.S.E., to 'The Scotsman.'

William Paterson and the Darien Scheme.

Edinburgh, *5th August* 1880.

Sir,—In your interesting notice of the Calendars of State Papers in 'The Scotsman' of 31st July, you refer to William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, and to the recognition of his claims in connection with the ill-fated Darien scheme by the private Act of the first Parliament of George I., in 1714, which awarded him the sum of £18,241, 10s. 10⅔d.; and you add, "but what, if anything, followed on this has hitherto evaded inquiry."

I was led some years ago partially to investigate this point, which has been raised repeatedly; and your article having renewed the interest in Paterson's history, I have now looked further into the papers to which I have access, and if you will allow me space I think I can set the matter at rest.

The claims of William Paterson were long subject of discussion, and so early as 6th October 1696 the Directors of the African Company awarded him £7500, and further resolved "to take into consideration what suitable gratifications they will appoint out of the subsequent profits of their trade, and proportionate the same to the success thereof." Without receiving payment of the sum awarded, Paterson went to Holland and Hamburg on the Company's service.

The Treaty of Union followed, by which provision was made for the repayment of the capital stock of the African Company with interest, and the dissolution of that Company. By an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed 25th March 1707, the Directors were appointed to state the account of the debts and stock of the Company, so as in the whole not to exceed the gross sum of £232,884, 5s. 0⅔d., and this having been done in Paterson's absence, his claim was "left out and omitted." He then appealed to the first Parliament of Great Britain, and by an Act passed on 1st April 1708 it was declared that the omission of the Directors to state his claims should in no way prejudice them, and that they should be certified and satisfied as the sums should be proved before the Judges of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, who were required to "make a full and fair representation thereof to His Majesty." In 1710 the Judges made a report of a somewhat indefinite character, and in 1713 Paterson again petitioned Parliament, and claimed £32,592, 15s. 10⅔d. The committee to whom the petition was referred resolved "that the petitioner hath been at great expense and pains, and sustained very considerable losses, in the service of the late African and Indian Company of Scotland, and ought to be reimbursed and have a recompence for the same"; and "that the sum of £18,241, 10s. 10⅔d. ought to be answered and made good to the petitioner." Thereupon followed the private Act, to which you refer, of 1st Geo. I. (1714), "for relieving William Paterson, Esq., out of the Equivalent money for what is due to him." The Commissioners of the Equivalent were thereby required to issue and pay to Paterson, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the said sum in debentures, for sums of not more than £500 nor less than £100 each, "for the more easy and convenient assignment and transferment thereof."

William Paterson was in pecuniary embarrassment pending the adjustment of his claims. Arrestments were used in the hands of the Commissioners of the Equivalent in 1707 and 1708, at the instance of Alexander Deans, son of the deceased Robert Deans, merchant in Edinburgh; and in 1716,

at the instance of Mrs Elizabeth Carstairs, relict and executrix of Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the city. On 7th July 1710, Paterson, described as of the parish of Saint Margaret's, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, executed a deed of assignment of all his claims against the Commissioners of the Equivalent to James Campbell, of London, merchant, to secure £2000 money lent, with interest at the rate of 6 per cent. The arrestments were discharged in 1717, and Campbell's debt was satisfied, as will be seen immediately.

The Act having passed, Paterson, on 25th October 1715, granted a power of attorney to William Bowles, of the city of Edinburgh, His Majesty's Solicitor to the Court of Exchequer in North Britain, to receive the debentures directed to be issued from the Commissioners of the Equivalent in 181 debentures for £100 each, and in a debenture for £141, 10s. 10⅔d., and to grant a discharge therefor. Some delay arose at this stage in consequence of the assignment to James Campbell, already noticed; but on 23rd February 1715-16, Paterson, by letter to the Commissioners, desired them forthwith to issue £3000 of the debentures to Campbell or his order, in such sums as he shall direct, "for which debentures the said James Campbell is to be accountable to me." By an endorsement on this letter James Campbell requests the Commissioners to issue the debentures in his own name, and to "deliver the same to the Honble. John Campbell, Esq., Lord Provost of Edinburgh, for my account." Of the same date (23rd February 1715-16) James Campbell, by letter to the Commissioners, desires them, notwithstanding the intimation of the assignment by Paterson in his favour already noticed, to issue to Paterson or his attorney a part or sum not exceeding £12,000 of the debentures, "until matters are settled between us, which are now in an amicable way of accommodation."

The "differences" between Paterson and Campbell were shortly thereafter "composed by arbitrators"; and by letters dated 12th June 1716, Paterson directs the Commissioners

to deliver to Campbell Equivalent debentures for £1741, 10s. 10⅔d., in addition to £3000 formerly issued to him; and Campbell directs that after this additional issue to him the Commissioners will "follow the directions of the said William Paterson, Esq., with respect to such part or surplus of his debentures as may still remain unissued."

Following on these various directions, the Commissioners of the Equivalent issued, on 13th March 1716, 120 debentures in name of William Paterson for £100 each—in all, £12,000; and 6 debentures in name of James Campbell for £500 each—in all, £3000. On 1st November 1716, the Commissioners issued 16 debentures for £100 each—£1600; and 1 for £141, 10s. 10⅔d. in name of James Campbell—together, £4741, 10s. 10⅔d.; and finally, they issued 15 debentures for £100 each in name of William Paterson—£1500,—making in all the sum awarded to Paterson by the Act in his favour of £18,241, 10s. 10⅔d.

The transaction was closed by a formal discharge by William Bowles, as attorney for William Paterson, dated 23rd December 1717, by which he acknowledges to have received from the Commissioners "debenture notes issued furth in the name of the above William Paterson for the sum of £1500 money, which, with the sum of £12,000 formerly issued furth in the name of the said William Paterson, and the sum of £4741, 10s. 10⅔d. issued furth in debentures in the name of Mr James Campbell, of London, merchant, conform to and by the directions of the said William Paterson, compleats and is in full of the sum of £18,241, 10s. 10⅔d.," specified and contained in the Act, of which the Commissioners are discharged.

The debentures so issued, of which, as we have seen, £13,500 were in name of Paterson, were declared to be transferable by endorsement. When, to whom, and for what consideration Paterson's debentures were transferred does not appear; but they were readily negotiable in London, and must have been disposed of shortly after they were issued, for Paterson died in 1718. In that year an Act was passed (5th George I., cap. 20) providing for the

incorporation of the proprietors of the Equivalent debt, including the sum payable under Mr Paterson's Act, and making a total capital stock of £248,550, 0s. 9½d. Letters patent were issued incorporating "The Equivalent Company" on 21st November 1725. Books were directed to be opened at London and Edinburgh for the purpose of recording the Equivalent debenture subscribed into the new company, and the whole of the debentures issued under Paterson's Act were subscribed at London by various parties resident in London, who thereby became proprietors of stock of the Equivalent Company. This corporation existed till 1850, when its capital stock of £248,550, 0s. 9½d. was paid up by the Government, and the company was dissolved by Act of Parliament.

I would only add that the original documents from which I have quoted are now before me, and they will, I think, be regarded as conclusive of the settlement, tardy as it was, of Mr Paterson's claims.—I am, &c., J. S. Fleming.

THE HISTORY OF CALEDONIA: or, The SCOTS COLONY IN DARIEN In the West Indies.

With an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants and Riches of the Countrey.

BY A GENTLEMAN LATELY ARRIV'D.

LONDON:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN NUTT, NEAR STATIONERS-HALL. MDCXCIX.

[In the 'Darien Papers,' Dr Hill Burton states that this curious and scarce work, purporting to have been written by a gentleman lately arrived from the Scots Settlement in Caledonia, affords a detailed and distinct account of the adventure, as far as it had been conducted up to that time. The work, however, bears internal marks of being a made-up book, compiled partly from the Council's dispatches from the Colony to the Directors in Scotland; while the descriptions of the Darien Indians and of the nature of the country are borrowed largely (in some places word for word) from Lionel Wafer's 'New Voyage to America,' which was published earlier in the same year (1699).]

The History of Caledonia, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Erecting of the Company of SCOTLAND *Trading to* AFRICA *and the* INDIES.

THE SCOTS having observed the great Benefits arising to all Nations by Trade, which was not well understood, and put into Method, till about the latter end of the last Century, in this part of the World, and that, above all others, that of *Africa* and the *Indies* was the most Beneficial, have long ago projected to share in it with their Neighbours. But by the Policy of those who had already felt the Sweets of it, and who feared a Diminution of their Gain, they found, till of late Years, unsurmountable Difficulties.

But in the year 1688, they having, for the most part, Early appeared in the Revolution, and served his Present Majesty with great Zeal, they thought they might Justly Promise to themselves a suitable Return to so great Merits, And having managed their Business with great Dexterity, they found themselves not frustrated of their Expectation.

About Three years ago, under the Administration of the Earl of *Twidale*, who was mightily influenced in this Affair by Secretary *Johnson*, Son of the late Laird *Warreston*, an Act was touched by the Scepter for erecting a Company to

be called the Company of *Scotland* Trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, with great Immunities,—vizt. of being Custom-free for above Twenty Years; and that all Ships which should be taken or damaged by any other Nation, to be made Good at His Majesties charge. These Two Provisos in the Act, were a mighty Encouragement; For by the first they were enabl'd to undersel their Neighbours, and by the second they were always sure of His Majesties Protection, being obliged by the strongest Ties of Interest.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Opposition against it.

No sooner was the News of this Act of Parliament spread abroad, but it was opposed in *England* by all concerned in the *East India* Trade, who made a mighty noise against it. Some indeed contemned it, and making severe Reflections upon the poverty of *Scotland*, look'd upon it as a Chymerical Project; but the wiser sort here thought it might be of dangerous Consequence; making serious Reflections upon the great Priviledges granted the New Company, thought many, both here, in *Holland* and other Nations, might easily be induced to joyn with them; and accordingly, many began, even here, to talk of Subscriptions, and remitting great Sums of Money; and more particularly the *Hamburgers*, had a Project of Subscribing an Hundred Thousand Pound. But the Parliament sitting here about the time when the Discourse of this Great Affair was at the hottest, the Companies most concerned, made their application to them, and prevailed so much, that they quite dashed all Subscriptions here; and that they might, if possibly, quite Ruin the *Scottish* Project, they addressed His Majesty, That he would take all care, and

use all possible Methods to suppress it; they obtained a Promise, That some Methods should be taken, and His Majesty making some Reflections upon what had passed, was pleased to express himself, *He had not been well served in Scotland.* But the Act being passed, and the whole Kingdom being engaged in it, it was looked upon as next to an impossibility, to have it Repealed. All that could be done, was to quite discourage all from Subscribing here, and to remonstrate to the *Hamburgers* the Injury their Joyning with the *Scots* would be to the *English* Trade. Accordingly, *Sir Paul Rycaut*, His Majesty's Minister to that Republick, had orders to press it home: Upon which the *Hamburgers* put out a Declaration in Justification of themselves, and seemed resolv'd to pursue their Project. But upon Cooler Thoughts, &c., considering the mighty benefit they received from the *English* Trade, they having made it their Staple for Cloth, for the *North* Parts of *Europe*, to the mighty enriching of that Republick; and that it was not impossible, that they might remove the said Staple from thence to some other place, as formerly they had done from *Antwerp*, to the mighty prejudice of that City; and being warmly pressed by his Majesty's Minister, they at last resolved to desist, preferring certain Riches before uncertain Gain.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Progress of the Company.

THE SCOTS seeing that no Subscriptions from *England* were to be expected, the Frowns of the Parliament having quite discouraged all here; and that the *Hamburgers* were for preferring a present and certain Gain before Great Expectations, being resolved to Keep all measures with *England*, they re-

solved to stand upon their own bottom, and to shew to the World that they were not so Chymerical as some gave out, they set themselves more warmly to carry the Project on, and accordingly subscribed £400,000, most of the Nobility and Gentry, and all the Cities and Royal Boroughs, unanimously concurring, giving the World a sufficient Proof that *Scotland* was neither so Poor, nor so Disjointed, as some people would have it believed. This great foundation being laid, the Superstructure went on apace: First, they bought them a Noble House in *Miln-Square* in *Edenborough*, to serve both for the *Offices* of the Company and a *Warehouse*. Then they began to build and buy Ships, both for Burthen and War, the chief of which are the *St Andrew*, the *Unicorn*, the *Caledonia*, the *Dolphin*, and the *Endeavour*. And here it's not improper to remark, that before this late Revolution they had no *Men of War* in *Scotland*, but now being partly necessitated by the Long War, and to carry on the designs of the Company, they have a pretty good Squadron, some of 60 Guns apiece and upwards.

After they had procured Ships sufficient for the present Designs of the Company, there was a great Debate among the Company, to what part of the *Indies* the Ships should be sent: and this part of the World was amused with various Rumours of the *Scots* designs. But the first Project laid by *Mr Paterson*, about Ten Years ago, for settling a Colony in the *Isthmus of Darien* prevailed. Accordingly Three Stout Ships and Two Tenders were Equipped in the *Port of Leith* in the *Frith*, and all manner of Provision and Warlike Stores put on Board, with about 1200 Seamen and Soldiers, the Complement of the last being the most select Foot of *Scotland;* they sayl'd from the *Frith* with a prosperous Gale, and went round by the *Orcades*, and having a prosperous voyage, about the middle of November, the last year, 1698, arrived safe in the Bay of *Darien*, having lost few or none of their men.

As soon as they were arrived safe in the Bay, after their hearty Thanks to Almighty God for their safe arrival, they

fell to sounding the Coasts, and found within a great Chain of Islands (among which is the Golden Island, by the *Spaniards* called St Katherine) a most large and capacious Port, where Ships of the greatest burthen may safely ride secure from wind and weather.

The Entrance of the Port, to which they have given the Name of *the Port of New St Andrew*, is not above Cannon-shot over; so that it's very capable of being defended against the Attacks of any Enemies, they having already raised Platforms for that End. Upon the Low Neck of a Promontary within the Bay, which contains not above Thirty Acres of Land, they have begun to build them such Houses as so short a time can give them leave; which they have covered over with the Leaves of the Tree called *Plantain*, whose leaves are about a Foot and a half long: For the better Security of the New Fort, they have cut the *Isthmus* or Neck of Land on which it stands, for about 130 paces and let in the Sea. So that it has no Communication with the Land but by a Bridge; in this Fort they have already Mounted 50 Guns, and placed in it a Garrison of near 600 Men.

As soon as they had fortified themselves against all suddain surprises, they sent Deputies to treat with the *Indians*, of which you shall have a particular account after the General Description in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

A short Description of the Country of DARIEN; *Now called* CALEDONIA.

THE Country of *Darien*, is one of the most Famous *Isthmuses* in the World. It's about a hundred and twenty Miles long, and three score broad. If it were possible to cut a Channel

from Sea to Sea, capable of Shipping, it would facilitate the Navigation of the World two parts in three; but it's next to an impossibility, for it's almost a continued Chain of Mountains, of which some are as high as any of the Alps, especially those towards the *North Part*, which is only described in these Papers, none of the Colony being able to give so exact an Account of the *South* as yet.

The Valleys are watered with Rivers and Perpetual clear Springs, which are most pleasant to drink, being as soft as Milk and very Nourishing.

The Rivers that fall into the *North Sea*, because of their short course, are not Navigable; for they have their rise from the high Chain of Hills above, which reaches all along the *Isthmus*, within twenty Miles, and sometimes less to the Sea. From the top of the Hills, is one of the most pleasant Prospects imaginable; for you have there a clear view of the *North Sea*, and the Various making of the Shore, together with the Adjacent *Islands*, which are called *Samballas*, between which, and the Continent runs a Channel about a League over, which makes all along the Coast numberless safe Harbours, and supplys the defects of the Rivers which are small, and commonly (because of the Violent Land Floods in the rainy Season, that carries down infinite Earth and Mud) are barred with flat Oozy Sholes.

These Hills are Clothed with tall Trees without any underwood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them, many Miles free from Sun and Rain, unless of a great continuance. The Air makes on the tops of the Trees a pleasant Melancholy Musick, so that one of the Colony considering the Coolness, Pleasant Murmuring of the Air, and the infinite beauty of a continued Natural Arbor, called them *the Shades of Love.*

Between these Hills and the Sea, are gentle declivities and a rich fat soyl full of all manner of Vegetables, among which are many not known to us in Europe. It's capable of any improvement, but towards the shore in many places, especially near the Mouths of Rivers are Morasses, in which grows a

Tree which rises from several Roots, to which was given the Name of the *Stilt Tree*, because the Roots like Stilts are entangled one among another. It's a Tree of about a foot Diameter. It has red bark and may be good for dyeing and dressing of Leather. This Tree is very troublesome to Travellers, because it makes a continued thicket.

The whole Country is comprehended between the eight and tenth degree of *Northern Latitude*, and has its name from the River called *Darien*; whereby its *Northern Coast* is bounded to the *East*. It's more subject to Rain than any other Country in the same Latitude, because of its Mountainous Scituation between the *Atlantick* or *Northern Ocean*, and the *Pacifick* or *mare del Zur*. The Rains begin in *May*, and last four or five months, but are very gentle at first like *April* showers, but after are more Violent, insomuch, that sometimes they make a kind of a deluge, covering the ground in some places seven or eight Foot all on a suddain, and carrying down Trees with great Impetuosity, but those that are acquainted with the Country know how to avoid the danger. But those Rains, even in the wettest Months, are not so continued, but there are many fair Days, and sometimes a week together with small Thundershowers, and refreshing breezes of Air. The pleasant dry months are *December*, *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*. The Sky is then very serene, and not so much as a cloud to be seen, and notwithstanding the warm scituation of the Climate, it's extreamly Pleasant, everything having a fresh verdure and odour, the Air gently fanning the Inhabitants, so that the heat is so far from being troublesome that it's delectable.

But the Country tho' it be Rich and Fruitful on the surface, is yet far Richer in its Bowels, there being great Mines of Gold; for the Deputies were certainly informed that not above 12 Leagues from *New Edenborough*, was a great Mine of this precious Metal, on which were employed near 1,000 Blacks, and that in the River *Scanta Mena*, which

is not above Thirteen Leagues from this Colony, and which falls into the *South Sea*, the *Spaniards* every year get Gold dust to the value of a Million.

And here it may not be unpleasant to the Reader, to give him an Account of the manner of getting the Gold dust, which is as follows: They have little Wooden Dishes which they dip into the Water and take it up half-full of sand, and at every dipping they find some Gold mixed with the sand; they shake the sand and the Gold goes to the bottom, and the sand rises and goes over the brim of the Dish with the Water; then with a Loadstone they extract the Iron dust from it, and so it's clear of any other ore or filth. This can only be done in the fair Season, for the Rivers are too deep in the wet, and then is the Gold brought down by the impetuous deluge from the Mountains. It's easy to guess from this what vast Mines may in time be discovered, when Art and Industry are joyned together, and of what importance it will be to *Great Britain* to take all possible measures to preserve this Colony.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Reception of the Deputies of the Councel by the DARIENS, *and of their Manners and Customs.*

THE Reader in the third Chapter, had mention of a League made between the Dariens and the Company. It will not be improper here, to give an Account of the reception of the Deputies and the manners of the *Indians*.

After the Colony had refreshed themselves ashore, and taken all possible precautions against any suddain surprise, by such fortifications as could be made in so short a time; It was agreed on by all, that it would add much to the

Security of the enterprise, if they could enter into a League and strict bond of friendship with the *Indians*, whom they knew to be great Enemies of the *Spaniards*, who had endeavoured to extirpate them, but could never prevail, by reasou of the invisible paths of the Country. Accordingly some Deputies were sent out, among whom was *Mr Paterson*, the chief Projector of the whole design. They found the *Indians* were, as it's before related, very tractable, and had certain intelligence that one of their great Kings (as they call their Chief Captains in their Language) was not far off upon the great ridge of the Mountains, and would be very glad to understand their design, and enter into any League against the *Spaniards* whom they mortally hated. They set out with a small train to give no occasion of Jealousie, and had several slight merchandises, as Beads, Linnen and Woolen Cloaths and other things, which they knew would be acceptable Presents to the wild *Indians*.

They found the Country, thro' which they pass'd, of an exceeding Rich soyl, but much covered with Wood, as above related, only here and there they met with some places which the *Indians* called in their Language *Savannahs*, where they plant their *Mari*, a kind of Corn something like wheat, upon little hillocks, at a little distance one from another. These *Savannahs* are not level, but consist of small Hills and Valleys, with pleasant spots of Wood intermixt, which serve both for pleasure and profit, of which more hereafter.

The *Indians* were so secure, that they saw several of them sleeping in Hammocks tied to two Trees, and had no other Covering or Canopy, but large Plantain Leaves, for they were told by their Priests, or rather Magicians (who went a Conjuring, which they call Panawing, as soon as our Fleet arrived), that the People newly arrived would be a great assistance against the *Spaniards* their Enemies, and would never molest them in any matters of Religion, but live in good Correspondence with them, if they failed not on their Part.

The Panawing is performed, as the Deputies were informed, with hideous yellings and shrieks, in which they imitate sometimes the hissing of Serpents; sometimes the croaking of Toads; sometimes the yelping of Foxes and barking of Dogs; to which they joyn the noise of several stones struck together, and of a sort of Drums made of Bamboes. They labour so hard and strain themselves so much, that they are all in a great sweat, and often fall into strange extasies and trances for a considerable time, and then renew their shrieks again, till the Oracle be given. The great Enemy of Mankind and Lover of Discord invited by such jarring Music, at last visibly appears, and audibly gives his Answer, which for the most part proves exactly true that he may the better delude these poor Creatures, who stand in great awe of him.

But to return where we left off, after they had made two easy days Journey, they arrived at the place where the King was, which was on the top of a very high Hill, which had a Noble Prospect towards the *North Sea*, as far as the Eye could reach, and was Crowned with a most Noble Grove of Stately Trees; some of which were eleven Foot Diameter, which bears a Cod about the bigness of a Nutmeg, full of short Wool, which when ripe is blown about by the wind, and is of small use, tho' it's something like Cotton.

As soon as the King had intelligence that the Deputies were near at hand, he sent a few Persons of the best Quality to Conduct them to his presence; these were attended with a sort of Musicians who play'd upon a kind of Pipes made of small hollow Bamboes and Reeds full of notches, with which they made a kind of whining noise, but nothing Musical to European Ears, and all the Company, to keep Consort, made a humming at the same time to themselves.

As they approached nearer, they were diverted with a Dance of 40 Men in a Ring, who stretched out their hands and laid them on one another's shoulders, moving gently sideways round in a Circle, wrigling themselves into a thou-

sand ridiculous postures, something like the Highland Dances in *Scotland.* After they had Danced a pretty while, one of the Company jumped out of the Ring and Play'd several Antick Tricks, throwing and catching a Lance, bending back towards the ground and springing forward again with great Activity, to the no small admiration of the Deputies.

Most of them were six foot high, strait and clean limb'd, big-bon'd and full breasted; their faces were round, with short bottle noses; Eyes large and sparkling, white even Teeth.

Their hair was strait, long and black, which they wore down to the middle of their back or lower; hanging loose at its full length. They often scratched their heads, and when they found any lice, they would immediately put them in their Mouth and eat them; it's supposed they have not the use of Combs.

They had no beards, neither does any of the Nation wear any, but has it, as well as the hair in other parts, pulled up by the Roots by their Women, except the Eye-Brows and Eye-Lids; for which purpose, because they have not the use of small Pincers, they most dextrously make use of two sticks, between which they pinch the hair and pluck it up.

Their Colour, as is the rest of the Nation, was Orange Tawney; (for this description may serve for the whole Nation, and, therefore, the digression is the longer). They had newly anointed themselves with Oyl, which they make use of, to make their Bodies shine and to make the Skin smooth and supple, and hinder it from Parching; they had drawn upon their Skins many Figures of Birds, Fishes, and Trees, in many parts of their Bodies, but especially of their Faces; the Colours were red, yellow and blue. They are laid on with Pencils made of jagged and beaten sticks.

They were quite Naked, and had not so much as a Rag about them, only a piece of *Plantain Leaf*, which was rolled up into the Figure of an extinguisher, and but half covered their privities.

They had all a piece of an Oval thin Plate of Gold, which

covered their Mouth from corner to corner, and hung dangling over their Lips, being fixed to the inner part of the Nose.

They had several Chains of Teeth, Shells, Beads, hanging from the Neck down upon the Breast and to the Pit of the Stomach; which was looked upon by them as the greatest piece of finery, and the more weighty and more numerous the Chains are, the more they value themselves upon their Dress.

But to put an end to this long, yet necessary Digression: When they were come to the top of the Hill, and almost in sight of the King, to shew how welcome they were to both Sexes, they were entertained by a Dance of Women, who behaved themselves with great modesty and activity, dancing in a Ring, as the Men did.

They had every one of them a piece of Cotton Cloath about their middle, tied behind with a Thread, hanging down to their Ankles; they were very plump and fat, well-shaped, and had lively brisk eyes, but something short, and a little too thick.

Their features were very regular, their Hair long and black, which was tied together with a string just behind the Head.

These women danced still before the Deputies, till they were arrived in the King's presence, whom they found seated under a Tree of an extraordinary bigness, upon a kind of a Throne made of several Logs of Wood, piled neatly one upon another, and covered with a sort of Party-coloured Cloth, which he had purchased of the Spaniards for a great Sum of Gold. He had on his Head a Diadem of Gold Plate, about ten inches broad, indented at the top, lined within with Network, made of small Canes, and a Robe shaped something like a Frock, of Cotton, down to his heels, with a Fringe of the same Cotton above a Span long, with short wide open sleeves, reaching only to the middle of his Arms; his face was painted with Red, as if he designed War upon some of his Neighbours; he had a Plate of Gold hanging over his Mouth, of an Oval Figure, covering his mouth from corner to corner; he had hanging at each Ear a Pendant made of two large Plates

of Gold, fastened to a Ring, the one hanging before to the Breast, and the other behind on the Shoulder: the Plates were about eight inches long, and shaped like a beast.

Those who attended him wore on their Heads a kind of Diadem made of Cane-work, indented and jagged at the top, wrought very fine, and well painted, set round at the top with long beautiful Feathers, in the form of a Crown.

They all wore several Chains of Teeth, hanging down from the Neck above a Foot. The Teeth were all indented and over-run, tallied and notched exactly with the other, which made them look like a solid piece of Bone.

The Deputies, after they had made a Low Obeysance to his Majesty, were conducted by the Master of Ceremonies, who is always a Principal Man, to some Seats made of Logs of Wood, covered with Cotton Cloth, just over against the King's Throne, but much lower. After they were seated, they were by the same Master of Ceremonies commanded to give an account of the Affairs they had to transact with his Majesty. Then *Mr Paterson*, the First of the Embassy, rose up, and after due reverence, made a short and pithy Speech; the substance of which was, *That they were come from the uttermost Coast of the World, being the Subjects of a Mighty Prince, to admire his Grandeur, to establish Traffick, and to make a strict League with him against all Enemies whatsoever.*

There was a most profound silence during the Speech, and it was observed that his Majesty smiled, and often twirled the Plate of Gold which covered his mouth, which was a sign that he was extremely pleased. But I cannot here omit one thing which happened just when the Speech was ended, which was no small cause of Laughter. A Drove of Monkeys came leaping up and down the Branches of the Trees, and making extraordinary squeaking, sometimes breaking the little Branches, and throwing them down among the people, and pissed among them, and hung down by one another's Tails in a Chain; and swinging in that manner till the lowermost catch'd hold of a Bough of another tree, and drew up

the rest; and it's by this means that they pass from top to top of high trees, whose Branches are a little too far asunder for their leaping. The *Indians* looked upon this as a very good *Omen*, and interpreted it thus, *That as the Monkeys by this Stratagem were a mutual assistance one to another, so the* Scots *and* Indians *would be, and that all would end in pleasure and profit.*

After this little Diversion was over, all was hushed again in a profound silence. Then, by his Majesties Order, a Noble *Indian* stood up, and made a Speech, the substance of which was, *That the bearded Men were welcome; that there should be nothing wanting that they could possibly assist them in; that a League should continue while Gold and Floods were in* Darien (an Expression used there to signify Perpetuity), *and that they might be assured of it the more, his Majesty would Swear it by his Teeth, and Touching of Lips with his Fingers.*

After this Speech was ended, the Deputies were ordered to withdraw, which they did, making a Profound Reverence to his Majesty. Then they were conducted to a pleasant cool place, at a little distance from the place of Audience; where they were entertained with a sort of Drink made of *Indian* Mace, which was very strong, but of a Sourish Taste, and is very windy.

The Deputies asked if they had any other sort of Drink? Upon which presently was brought in great Calabashes a milder Drink, called *Mislaw*, which is made of Ripe Plantains, which is not unpleasant to the Palate. After they had been treated in this place about an hour, a Message came from his Majesty to invite them to Dinner, which was made ready under another huge Tree,—for Houses there are none; this being only a place for Summer's Diversion, where they fear no Rain or change of weather for some months.

They found the King Seated on a low Seat, with some few of the Nobility standing about him. After due reverence paid to him, they were commanded to sit down at a little distance from his Majesty, who was at the head of the Table

which was made of Twigs most curiously wrought, and covered thick with *Plantain* Leaves, instead of Cloth and Napkins, and instead of Knives, there was a kind of a Dagger which they use in War, called a *Macheat*: In the middle of the Table was an Earthen Vessel full of Salt, which is very scarce in the inner Parts of the Country, and another of Pepper, which is very plentiful, and much used in Dressing all their Victuals.

The first course was of flesh meat, which was stewed in very small Pieces in a Pipkin, with Roots and Green *Plantains* and *Bonanos*, with a great deal of Pepper, which was stewed too much and poured out into Earthen Dishes; It relished extreamly well, and perfumed the whole place.

The next course was for the most Part of the flesh of two sorts of Beasts, called by the *Indians* Peccary and Warree, which was broyled upon Grid-Irons made of Wood; it was served up without any sawce; but when it came to the Table, one of the waiters strew it all over with Salt and Pepper.

The third and last Course was of Fish, some boiled in Earthen Pipkins with Pepper and *Bonanos*, and some broyled upon the *Indian* Grate, called *Barbecues*.

After all, for a kind of Desert was served in dryed *Plantains*, *Bonanos*, and a kind of a musk Fig with some Bastard Cinnamon, with which the Country abounds.

Every one had at his right hand, two or three Calabashes of several of the above-mentioned Liquors, to take and drink when he pleased without any Cups, and another of Curious Spring Water.

The King in Eating, dipt his two forefingers of the right hand bent hook-wise, and took up therewith out of the Dish as with a Spoon, as much as he could, stroking it a-cross into his mouth. After every mouthful, he dipt his fingers into the water by his side, for Cleanliness and Coolness, for the meat he eat is excessive hot. He eat no bread with it, but at every three or four mouthfuls he dipt his finger in the salt and strok't over his tongue.

All Dinner-time he was entertained with Musick, Vocal and Instrumental, which seemed to be very diverting to him; tho' to the guests it seemed harsh and jarring. The subject of it was the great Achievements of himself and Ancestors, and concluded with a Song to welcome the guests.

After Dinner was over, the Deputies withdrew, and were Conducted to the place where they had refreshed themselves after the morning Audience.

CHAPTER VI.

Their Game and Manner of Hunting.

They had not been long there, when a Messenger came to them to ask them if they would be pleased to divert themselves with Hunting, for News was brought the King, that a great drove of Peccary was come down the Hills. This Peccary is a kind of a Wild Hog, very black with little short legs, yet runs swiftly. Its Navel is upon the back, and if upon the killing this beast the Navel is not cut away from the carcase within four hours at farthest, it taints all the flesh and makes it stink intollerably; but if it be taken away, it will keep well several days, and is well tasted and very Nourishing Meat. But to return to our discourse, all things were made ready, the Dogs were brought out, which are small ill-shaped Curs, with rough straggling hair and very slow, so that they rather serve for starting Game, than running it down. The Hunters were all on foot, here being no Horses, had every one his Bow and Arrows, his Lance, and a long knife which they call a *Macheat*. Being thus accoutred, they set forward, and the Women made frequent Prayers for their success. The King with the Deputies stood upon a Hill, where was an excellent Prospect, and

where they saw the whole Hunting without scarce moving a step. With their Men and Dogs and some Nets they had (which are made of a sort of Grass that we called Silk Grass, of which strong thread is spun) they surrounded four or five of them, so that they could not easily escape. They seemed not to value the Dogs, which durst not attack them, but stood barking at them, as it were at Bay. But the Hunters from behind some shrubs, shot them with their Arrows, and they made away with several of them in their Bodies, and run very fast for a while, but the loss of Blood soon stopped their Career. Then they came in with their Dogs and killed them with their Lances in a trice; then they cut them into four quarters immediately, and raised a mighty shout, which was Answered by the King and the People about him; some Playing upon a kind of a Trumpet made of Bambo, and sounded in an unmusical strain the Death of the Peccary. As soon as the Peccarys were brought to the King, he made the Deputies a Present of two of them.

At Night they took leave of the King, and were conducted to the forementioned place of retirement, where were hung several large Hammocks made of Silk Grass, and tied from Tree to Tree. The Night was pleasant and refreshing, and everybody slept as well as if he had been in the best furnished Chamber, there was all round a mighty silence, and the pleasant murmuring of the wind in the tops of the Trees gently moved us to sleep; neither were we troubled with the least fly or insect, which are very troublesome in low swampy ground. But it's not here to be forgot, that a profer was made of some young Women to solace the Deputies, which was modestly refused. Everybody slept soundly till about Sun rising, when we were awaked by a noise of Panawers, of which enough has been said above.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their Return to Fort St Andrew.

After they had dressed and refreshed themselves with some of the Peccary Barbecued, or broyled upon a Wooden Grate, they walked up and down those pleasant Groves, and passed two Days more with almost the same Entertainment and Ceremonies as at first. The third day Early in the Morning they had their Audience of *Conge;* and several young Boys of the Chief Nobility were recommended to the Deputies to be Educated, and to learn the *Scottish* Language, who were kindly received by them; who were glad to have so many Pledges for the observation of the Treaty, and which was the greatest mark imaginable of their sincerity, they were reconducted down the Hills with almost the same Ceremonies and Dancings they had at their coming up. All was pleasant and gay, only the Mothers of the young boys made at first a mighty howling and beating of their Breasts; but they were comforted by their Husbands, who told them *It would only be for a while, and that the Deputies would send some Boys of their Nation to be trained in their stead.*

In our return we met with a sort of Wild Hog, called *Warree* by the *Indians:* It is very good Meat; it has little Ears, but very great Tusks, and the Hair or Bristles 'tis covered with are long and thick-Set. It's a fierce Creature, and dreads no beast whatsoever; but one of the Company quickly dispatched it with a Slug shot out of a Fowling Piece. The noise of the Shot roused at the same time a stately horned Buck, who made his escape.

We saw abundance of Rabbits, which are as large as Hares, which have no Tails, but little short Ears, with huge large long Claws. They have no Burroughs, but lodge in the Roots of Trees. Several of them were killed. They are Excellent Meat, and eat much moister than European Rabbits.

We met with whole Droves of Monkeys, most of them black, some few white; some with large Beards, others Beardless, which were then fat, the Fruits being ripe, and are very agreeable meat.

We saw many other sorts of Animals, of which a further Account will be given in a particular Treatise, by an ingenious Gentleman who designs the Natural History of these parts. But we neither saw Bullock, Horse, Ass, Sheep, Goats, nor so much as a Cat, tho' they be much troubled with Rats and Mice, so that one may make their Fortunes by Cats, as *Whittington* did, who was twice or thrice Mayor of *London*, which confirms that common Tradition of his sudden acquiring of great Riches.

The Countrey we returned thro' was very Woody, only here and there were some pleasant Savanals, where grows great plenty of *Maiz*, which makes a substantial strong Bread, but it Eats something dryer and harsher than our Wheat. It produces a wonderful increase, above a Thousand for One. The Planting and Gathering of it is the Work of the Women. The men's Employment is only Hunting and Fishing.

There are infinite quantities of Cedar, very high and large. The Wood is very Red, of a curious Grain, and of a very fragrant smell. The only use they make of them is for Canoa's and Periago's; the first being much less than the second; which latter sometimes, tho' all of one Tree hollowed, will conveniently carry fifty or threescore men.

There are great store of Plantains which produce an excellent Fruit. The *Indians* set them in Rows, and they make very delightful Groves.

Bonano's grow here in great plenty: They are a sort of Plantains; the Fruit is short and thick, sweet and mealy; it eats excellently well raw, but the Plantain eats best when it's boiled.

But the Crown of all is that Delicious Food which we call the *Pine Apple*, shaped something like an Artichoak, as big as a man's head. It grows like a Crown on the top of a stalk,

about the thickness of an ordinary man's arm, and a Foot and a half high. The Fruit is commonly 7 lbs. weight, inclosed with short prickly Leaves. This Fruit has no Kernal in it. 'Tis very juicy, and seems to taste of all the Delicious Fruits together. It ripens at all times of the Year, and is raised from new Plants. The Leaves of the Plant are broad, about a Foot long, and grow from the Root. Some of the Company would have called it *The Vegetable Manna*, which would have been no improper name; for it has a thousand Delights in its Taste, and may supply the Defects of all Sort of Fruits. Its Leaves serve for covering of Houses, and Bed-cloaths over the Hammocks. Two or three of them will defend one from the Sun and the Rain.

We saw Sugar-Canes in abundance; but the *Indians* know not how to make Sugar. They will carry them as they walk, under their Arms, and now and then take a piece of one of them and chew it, and suck out the juice.

Bastard Cinnamon Trees grow in most places, which bear a sort of a Cod something shorter than a Bean-Cod, but much thicker. It's thought if they were transplanted, the Bark might in time be little inferior to the fam'd Cinnamon of *Ceilon*.

There grows plentifully two sorts of Pepper, the one called *Bell-Pepper*, the other *Bird-Pepper*, which are both much used by the Indians. Both sorts grow on a shrubby Bush about a yard high. The *Bird-Pepper* has the smaller leaf, and is much more esteemed by the *Indians* and is capable of great improvements.

Red Wood, fit for Dyers, is no less plentiful than the former. The Trees are commonly about 40 Foot high, about the thickness of ones Thigh. The *Indians* with this, and a kind of Earth, dye Cottons for their Hammocks. It makes a bright lively Red.

The Tobacco that grows here is not so strong as that in *Virginia*, which we attributed to their want of Skill in managing it; for they raise it onely from Seed, and never

transplant it, as they do in all the Tobacco Countries. When it's cured, they strip it from the stalks, and laying 2 or 3 Leaves upon one another, they roll up all together sideways into a long Roll, leaving a little hollow; round this they roll other Leaves, closed hard, till it be as big as one's Wrist, and 2 or 3 foot long. They smoke it in Company thus: A Boy lights one end of the Roll, and burns it to a Coal, wetting the part next it, to keep it from wasting too fast. The end so lighted he puts into his mouth, and blows the smoak thro' the whole length of the Roll into everybody's Face in the Company. Then they sitting in their usual posture upon forms, make with their hands held hollow together, a kind of Funnel round their Mouths and Noses, they snuff it up greedily, and are extreamly pleased, and look on it as the greatest of Refreshments.

These were the most remarkable things we observed in our going and returning, besides great variety of Fowl, which deserves a more particular Account, which is left to the Author of the Natural History, here being no room for such large Accounts.

As soon as we were come within sight of *St Andrew's Fort*, we all fell down on our knees to give God most hearty thanks for our Success and happy Return, and were presently met by a great part of the Garrison. Never were people so caressed, tears of Joy standing in everybodies eyes; and there was great striving among them about getting the Education of the *Indian* Boys, who in a short time had most of them learned a great many words of our Language. So that it's not doubted but in a short time they will attain the Perfection of it, as some of our Little ones will do of theirs, who are speedily to be sent to remain with the *Indians*, according to the Agreement in the League, which it's hoped will prove as advantageous to *Scotland*, as that made between *Charlemain* and *King Achaius*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Advantages of the scituation of Fort St Andrew, and the Interest of preserving it, and the Dangers that threaten it; With the Conclusion of the History.

THE *Spaniards*, whom it highly concerns, will do their utmost to disturb us, but unless they be assisted by some other Nation, we have no great Reason to fear them; for the daily confluence from all parts, of great shoals of People, the strength of the Scituation of *Fort St Andrew*, the League with the *Indians*, and the frequent Defiles will render it an Enterprise too difficult for them. They made some feeble attempts from *St Maria*, but we dispatching a few select Men, under the Command of *Capt. Montgomery*, met them in a Plantain Walk, quickly dispersed them, took above 100 Prisoners, and among the rest their Chief Commander *Don Domingo de la Rada*, who is yet a prisoner at Fort St Andrew, and will be continued there till we have a Good Account of the *Spaniards'* treatment of *Capt. Pinkarton*, who commanding the *Dolphin Tender*, was forced by distress of Weather under the Walls of *Carthagena*, and made Prisoner last February, a little before the above mentioned Skirmish happened.

As we grow stronger, we shall endeavour to procure a part in the *South Sea*, from whence it's not above 6 weeks Sail to *Japan* and some parts of *China*; so that, bating distress of weather, by bringing the Commoditys of those Countries over this narrow *Isthmus*, the Riches of those Kingdoms may in 4 or 5 months' time arrive in *Europe*.

What Interest *England* has in concurring to the Preservation of this Colony, it's needless to dispute, since they have Arts and Means to share in the Riches of *Scotland*. And all our Nobility and Gentry must, for their own Interest, attend the Court of *England* and consequently disperse their money

among them. All these Circumstances concurring, makes us hope it will be one of the most thriving Colonies in the World, and that all Attempts against it will prove abortive, which ought to be the wish of all the Inhabitants of *Great Britain.*

FINIS.

APPENDIX F.

A PERFECT

L I S T

OF THE

SEVERAL PERSONS RESIDENTERS

IN

SCOTLAND,

WHO HAVE SUBSCRIBED AS ADVENTURERS IN THE JOYNT-STOCK OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND TRADING TO AFRICA AND THE INDIES.
TOGETHER WITH THE RESPECTIVE SUMS WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERALLY SUBSCRIBED IN THE BOOKS OF
THE SAID COMPANY, AMOUNTING IN THE WHOLE

TO THE SUM OF £400,000 STERLING.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY THE HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS OF
ANDREW ANDERSON, PRINTER TO
THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

ANNO DOM. 1696.

APPENDIX F.

A LIST, &c.

William Arbuckle, merchant in Glasgow,	£2000
Archibald earl of Argyle,	1500
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William earl of Annandale,	1000
Mr William Areskine, governour of Blackness,	1000
The Faculty of Advocats,	1000
Sir Patrick Aikenhead, commissary-clerk of Edin.	1000
John Anderson of Dovehill, and provost of Glasgow,	1000
James Auchinleck, chirurgion-apothecary in Edinburgh,	600
John marquis of Athol,	500
Alexander Anstruther of New-wark,	500
William Ainslie of Blackhill,	500
Mr Walter Atchison of Ruchsolloch,	500
Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice,	400
Captain Alexr. Anderson, in Sir John Hill's regiment,	400
Sir John Areskine of Alva,	300
Sir James Abercrombie of Birkenbog,	300
Captain John Areskine, brother to the laird of Alva,	300
Lady Alva,	300
Robert Anstruther of Wrea,	300
James Allan of Sauchnell,	300
John Allardes, younger, merchant in Aberdeen,	200
Mr William Aikman of Cairny, advocat,	200
Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo, Lyon King at Arms,	200
Sir John Aitoun of that Ilk,	200
The town of Air,	200
John Alexander of Blackhouse, for himself and lady Grange,	200
Mrs Veronica Areskine, daughter to the deceased David lord Cardross,	200
Thomas Anderson, son to baillie Anderson,	200
William Alves, writer in Edinburgh,	200
John Angus, brewer there,	200
James Adam, merchant in Glasgow,	200
John Armour, taylor there,	200
John Alexander, merchant in Glasgow,	125
Penelope Areskine, sister to Cambo,	100
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Claud Alexander of Newton,	100
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John Aird, dean of guild there,	100
John Anderson, junior, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Carry Forward . .	£17825

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John Adam, senior, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Alexander Adam, taylor there,	100
William Arthur, taylor in Cannongate,	100
Thomas Alstoun, shoe-maker in Glasgow,	100
Mr Alexander Auchterlony, indweller in Dundee,	100
Archibald Arnot, apothecary there,	100
Thomas Abercrombie, skipper there,	100
James Alison, late baillie there,	100
George Anderson, merchant in Haddington,	100
Colin Alison, sub-collector of His Majesties Excise,	100
William Allan, taylor in Stirling,	100
John Archibald, writer in Edinburgh,	100
William Allan, portioner of Dudingston,	100
George Anderson, son to Mr John Auderson, minister at Leslie,	100
Gabriel Alison of Dunjop,	100
Margaret Adamson, daughter to the deceased Patrick Adamson, merchant in Kelso,	100
Robert Arbuthnet, servit. to E. Marshall,	100
Michael Anderson, of Tushalaw,	100
Jean Arthur, daughter to John Arthur of Newton,	100
The town of Saint-Andrews,	100
John lord Belhaven,	3000
The Royal Burrows,	3000
Mr Robert Blackwood, merchant in Edinburgh,	2000
James Balfour, merchant there,	2000
Sir Thomas Burnet of Lees,	1000
William Baillie of Lamington,	1000
George Baillie of Jerviswood,	1000
Alexander Brand, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
John Baillie, chyrurgion there,	1000
Robert Blackwood, merchant there,	1000
Alexander Baird, merchant there,	1000
James Byers, merchant there,	700
The town of Brichen,	700
Robert master of Burleigh,	500
Sir John Baird of Newbyth,	500
John Bruce of Kinross,	500
Sir William Baird younger of Newbyth,	500
Sir William Binning of Waliford,	500
William Biggar of Woolmot,	500
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John Broun, skipper in Leith,	400
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Thomas Bethune of Tarbat,	200
James Balnevis of Glencarss,	200
Mr Alexander Broun of Thornydykes,	200
Mr Robert Baunerman, brother to Elsik,	200
Andrew Baillie of Parbroth,	200
Andrew Broun of Dolphingtoun, doctor of medicin,	200
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William Baxter, merchant in Glasgow,	200
James Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
The incorporation of the baxters in Edinburgh,	200
The incorporation of the baxters of Glasgow,	200
William Broun, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
James Broun, son to Hugh Broun, senior, chyrurgeon-apothecary there,	200
John Barbour, merchant in Inverness,	200
James Ballingall, maltman in Strathmiglo,	150
James Barbour, merchant in Inverness,	140
William Bryson, late baillie of Dunbar,	120
John Bowie, merchant in Falkirk,	100
George Brodie of Aslisk,	100
Robert Bruce in Aberdeen,	100
Adam Bucknay, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
Andrew Burnet, brother-german to Mr Thomas Burnet of Kimnay,	100
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Hugh Brown, writer in Edinburgh,	100
William Baillie of Montoun,	100
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Thomas Boyd of Pitcon,	100
Robert Boyd of Trochrig,	100
David Burton, glasier in Edinburgh,	100
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George Borland, merchant there,	100
Thomas Brown, litster in Glasgow,	100
James Brabner, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
Mrs Elizabeth Brisbane, daughter to Bishoptoun,	100
James Blair, writer in Air,	100
Walter Boswel of Balbartoun,	100
Mr William Black, advocat,	100
James Bruce of Wester-Kinloch,	100
James Baillie, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Henry Balfour of Denbuge,	100
James Baillie, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
John Bairdie, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
Bessie Bogle, relict of Robert Bogle, mercht. in Glasg.	100
William Buchanan, merchant there,	100
William Barclay, merchant there,	100
William Blackburn, merchant there,	100
John Buchanan, merchant there,	100
Christian Boyd, relict of Peter Gemmil, mercht. there,	100
John Ballantine, merchant in Air,	100
John Ballantine of Craigmuire,	100
John Boyd, chyrurgion-apothecary in Glasgow,	100
George Buntine, peutherer there,	100
George Buchanan, malt-man there,	100
Patrick Bryce, malt-man there,	100
Katharine Binning lady Bavelaw,	100
Capt. John Blackadder, in col. Ferguson's regiment,	100
David Baillie, apothecary in Edinburgh,	100
John Bruce, felt-maker there,	100
Andrew Broun, watch-maker there,	100
John Bethune, merchant in Dundee,	100
Alexander Bruce, merchant there,	100
Elizabeth Blackwood, daughter to Mr Robert Blackwood, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Brisbane, writer to the Signet,	100
Francis Brodie, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mr James Baillie, writer to the Signet,	100
Capt. John Brodie, in my L. Murray's regiment,	100
Thomas Bowar, merchant in Duudee,	100
Patrick Balnavis, late baillie there,	100
Marion Borthwick, relict of James Cunningham, cowper in Leith,	100
Carry Forward . .	£55535

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Margaret Broun, daughter to Blackburn,	100
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Peter Barton in Barronhill,	100
The incorporation of the baxters of the Cannongate,	100
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Daniel Campbell, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
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John Crauford of Fergus-hill,	1000
Charles Charters, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
George Clark, merchant there,	1000
Mr Gilbert Campbel, son to Colin Campbel of Souter-houses, and merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
Mungo Cochran & Partners in Glasg. viz. Patrick Gow and William Struthers equally amongst them,	1000
Mathew Cumming, merchant there,	1000
Hugh Cunningham, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
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Mr James Campbel, brother to E. Argyle,	700
The incorporation of the chirurgious in Edinburgh,	600
John Callender of Craigforth,	600
David lord Cardros,	500
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Sir Colin Campbel of Aberuchel, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice,	500
Mr William Carmichael, advocat,	500
Sir Colin Campbel of Arkindlass,	500
John Cauldwell of that Ilk,	500
James Carnagie of Balnamoon,	500
John Carstairs of Kilconquher,	500
Duncan Campbel of Monzie,	500
Patrick Chambers, belt-maker in Edinburgh,	500
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Carry Forward . .	£83235

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Mungo Campbel of Burnbank,	400
Adam Craick of Airbuchland, and William Craick of Duchlaw,	400
Sir Humphray Colquhoun of Luss,	400
Mr David Carmichael, son to the lord Carmichael,	300
Patrick Cockburn of Clerkingtoun,	300
Henry Cheap of Rossie,	300
Henry Crauford of Monorgan,	300
James Crauford of Muntquhanie,	300
Hugh Cunningham, writer to the Signet,	300
William Charters, sheriff-deput of Dumfries,	300
William Currie, merchant in Achenskew,	300
Mr William Castlelaw,	300
Henry Craufurd, merchant in Dundee,	230
Lady Susan Campbel,	200
Major James Cunningham of Aickett,	200
Mark Carse of Cockpen,	200
Colin Campbell of Lochlan,	200
John Crauford younger of Craufordland,	200
Walter Cornwal of Bonhard,	200
Dr Alexander Cranstoun,	200
John Cunningham, writer to the Signet,	200
Mr John Campbell, writer to the Signet,	200
Ronald Campbell, writer to the Signet,	200
James Cleland, son to James Cleland, mercht. in Edin.	200
Adam Cleghorn, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
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Robert Clerk, chirurgion-apothecary there,	200
Sir Alexander Cuming of Culter,	200
William Cochran, merchant in Glasgow,	200
John Corbett, merchant in Drumfreis,	200
George Cockburn, younger, merchant in Haddingtou,	200
Thomas Campbell, flesher in Edinburgh,	200
George Cuthbert of Castlehill,	150
William Carmichael, taylor in Glasgow,	150
Thomas Calder, merchant there,	100
Isobel Cranston, daughter to Dr Cranston,	100
William Cochran, collector at Renfrew,	100
Marion Cleghorn, relict of baillie Thomas Robertson,	100
Robert Corbet, merchant in Drumfreis,	100
Robert Couper, sheriff-clerk of Selkirk,	100
Hugh Campbell, merchant, son to the deceased Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock,	100
Archibald Campbell, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Mungo Campbell, of Nether-place,	100
Carry Forward . .	£93165

Brought Forward . .	£93165
James Crockett, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mr Matthew Campbell of Water-haugh,	100
Laurence Cragie of Kilgrastoun,	100
Mr Alexander Cunningham, merchant in Irwin,	100
Mr William Cuningham, apothecary there,	100
James Craigie, younger, of Dumbarnie,	100
Hugh Crauford, merchant in Air,	100
William Chalmer, merchant there,	100
Patrick Coltrane, merchant there,	100
Mungo Campbell, merchant there,	100
William Cleghorn, merchant in Dalkeith,	100
John Clerk, elder, merchant in Greenock,	100
Elias Cathcart, merchant in Air,	100
Henry Chrystie, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Crosbie, merchant in Drumfreis,	100
William Curror in New-house,	100
John Currie, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Carse, son to Cockpen,	100
John Carsell of Lounsdale, in the parish of Pasley,	100
Charles Cunningham, ensign in Sir John Hill's regt.	100
Alexander Cairlile, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Robert Corbett, merchant there,	100
Stephen Crauford, copper-smith there,	100
Peter Corbett, malt-man there,	100
John Corss, commissary-clerk there,	100
John Crauford, merchant in Newport-Glasgow,	100
Alexander Cochran, younger, of Craigmure,	100
John Crombie, sheriff-clerk of Roxburgh,	100
Captain Allan Cathcart in Sir John Hill's regiment,	100
James Cleland, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Alex. Cuningham, servit. to Sir Gilbert Eliot, advocat,	100
Alexander Cleland, junior, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mrs Janet Carse, sister to Cockpen,	100
Henry Chrystison, commissary of Stirling,	100
George Crocket, merchant in Dundee,	100
Andrew Cockburn, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Coupar of Lochblair,	100
Alexander Cleghorn, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Lady Lillias Carr, sister to the earl of Lothian,	100
Jean Cameron, daughter to Donald Cameron,	100
Patrick Crauford, brother to Kilbirnie,	100
John Currie, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
The Town of Cowpar in Fife,	100
Catherin Charters, daughter to Mr Laurence Charters, advocat,	100
Dougall Campbell of Saddell,	100
John Currie, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
Carry Forward . .	£97765

Brought Forward . .	£97765
John Cleland, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Currie, merchant there,	100
The Incorporation of the Cordiners of Edinburgh,	100
The Incorporation of the Cordiners of Glasgow,	100
The Incorporation of the Coupers of Glasgow,	100
John Chatto, elder, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Edward Cleghorn, gold-smith there,	100
Robert Couper, baillie in Strathmiglo,	100
Colin Campbell of Bogholt,	100
The Incorporation of the Cordiners in the Cannongate,	100
James Cumming, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Campbell of Kinpont,	100
William Callender, junior, merchant in Falkirk,	100
William Callender, elder, merchant there,	100
Mrs Christian Cockburn, daughter to Adam Cockburn of Ormiston,	100
Alexander Crauford in Abercorn,	100
Frederick Corser, merchant in Dundie,	100
Henry Cheap of Rossie younger,	100
George Cranston, in Baxtounleyes,	100
Duncan Campbell of Dunneaves,	100
Christian Carr, sister-german to John Carr of Cavers,	100
George Cruikshank, junior, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
Mr Thomas Chrighton of Tillyfergus, chamberlain to the earl of Perth,	100
Anna Cunniogham, daughter to the deceast Mr James Cunningham in Alva,	100
Agnes Campbell, relict of the deceast Andrew Anderson his Majesties printer,	100
Mr Patrick Campbell, brother to Monzie,	100
David Cuthbert, brother to Castlehill,	100
Mr James Carnagie of Craigie,	100
John Crauford, collector at Inverness,	100
Robert Cuming of Relugas, merchant in Inverness,	100
William Carruthers of Whytcroft,	100
John Drummond of Newton,	2325
Mr William Dunlop, principal of the coll. of Glasgow,	2000
James lord Drummond,	1000
Susan countess of Dundonald,	1000
Sir Robert Dickson of Sornbegg,	1000
Alexander Duncan of Lundie,	1000
George Dundass, merchant in Leith,	1000
Mr John Duncan, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
Thomas Dalrymple, doctor of medicin,	700
David Drummond of Cultmalindie,	600
John Drummond of Culquhalzie,	600
Alexander Dundass, doctor of medicin,	600
Carry Forward . .	£113690

Brought Forward . .	£113690
James marquis of Douglas,	500
John Dunlop of that Ilk,	500
Mr Hugh Dalrymple, advocat,	500
The town of Drumfreis,	500
Mr William Drummond, brother to Logie-Almond,	500
Adam Drummond of Megginsh,	500
Arch. Douglas, brother to Sir Wm. Douglas of Cavers,	500
Thomas Drummond of Logie-Almond,	500
Capt. Charles Douglas, son to Sir Wm. Douglas, col.	500
James Dunlop, collector at Borrowstounness, and merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Thomas Dishingtoun, merchant in Leith,	500
John Duncan, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Robert Dinwiddie, merchant in Glasgow,	500
Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum,	400
Mary Douglas lady Hilton,	400
Sir James Don of Newton,	400
Mr James Dalrymple of Killoch,	400
Mr David Dalrymple, advocat,	400
Adolphus Durham, merchant in Edinburgh	400
Charles Divvie, merchant there,	400
Sir William Denham of Westsheids,	300
Mr David Dickson, doctor of medicin,	300
John Dickson, Secretary to the marquis of Tweeddale	300
George Danizell, wright in Glasgow,	300
Charles Dalrymple, writer in Kilmarnock,	300
Alexander Duff of Drummure,	300
William Duff of Diple,	260
Henrieta Dalyell, Lady Glennae,	200
Captain James Drummond of Comrie,	200
Henry Douglas, keeper of the signet,	200
John Drummond, brother to Cultimalindie,	200
Alexander Douglas, Guiddon and major to his majesties troup of guards,	200
Mrs Christian Dundas, daughter to Kincavil, advocat,	200
Robert Douglas, senior, soap-boyler in Leith,	200
Laurence Don, taylor in Edinburgh,	200
John Duncan, late baillie in Dundee,	200
William Douglas, merchant in Dalkeith,	200
Mrs Agnes Dalyell, daughter to the deceased Sir Robt. Dalyell of Glennae, baronet,	200
James Dunbar of Dalcross, late baillie of Inverness,	180
John Dickson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Abraham Davidson, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
Alexander Dunbar, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Nicholas De-Champs, paper maker in Glasgow,	100
Robert Douglas of Strathenrie,	100
Carry Forward . .	£127930

Brought Forward . .	£127930
Thomas Dunlop, chirurgion in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Darling, doctor of the grammar school of Edin.	100
Walter Denningstoun, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Laurence Dinwiddie, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Marion Davidson, relict of John Glen, minister in Glas.	100
Susanna Douglass, relict of Ninian Anderson, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Donaldson, elder, malt-man there,	100
William Dykes, writer to the signet,	100
Mr John Dallas, son to St Martins,	100
John Dunbar, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Dykes, cordiner in Cannongate,	100
David Drummond, merchant in Dundee,	100
John Dick, writer there,	100
Robert Douglas, junior, soap-boyler in Leith,	100
Patrick Dundas, son to Brestmiln,	100
Alexander Duncan, merchant in Dundee,	100
Alexander Dunbar, tailor in Edinburgh,	100
Richard Dickson, merchant there,	100
Mr James Dowie, merchant there,	100
George Duncan, merchant in Inverness,	100
William Dunbar, son to the laird of Durn,	100
Mr James Douglas, minister at Stow,	100
The town of Dunbar,	100
John Durie, skipper in Kirkaldie,	100
John Dallas, writer, burgess of Fortross,	100
Robert Douglas, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Lodovick Drummond, chamberlain to my lord Drummond,	100
The Good Town of Edinburgh,	3000
Lieutenant colonel John Erskin, son to David lord Cardross,	1200
Mr James Elphingstoun, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh,	1000
Gideon Eliot, chirurgion there,	500
William Eliot of Borthwick-brae,	200
Robert Eliot of Middle-miln,	200
Mr William Eccles, doctor of medicin,	200
Thomas Edgar, chirurgion in Edinburgh,	200
Mr Edward Eizat, doctor of medicin,	200
James Erskiue, brother-german to the laird of Pittodrie,	200
John Edingtoun, writer there,	200
John Ewing, writer there,	100
David Edgar of Keithock,	100
John Eliot, writer to the signet,	100
Walter Eliot of Erckletoun,	100
Gilbert Eliot of Stonedge,	100
Carry Forward . .	£138230

Brought Forward . .	£138230
Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun,	1000
Samuel Forbes of Foverain,	1000
Sir Alexander Forbes of Tulquhon,	500
Sir James Fleeming of Rathobyres,	500
John Forbes, brother to Foverain,	500
Patrick Farmer, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Captain Charles Forbes, in Sir John Hill's regiment,	400
George Fullertoun of Dreghorn,	300
Mr John Frank, advocat,	300
Mr John Fairholm, advocat,	300
Arthur Forbes of Eicht, younger,	200
Duncan Forbes of Culloden,	200
Thomas Forbes of Watertoun,	200
Colonel James Ferguson,	200
Major John Forbes,	200
Captain John Forbes of Forbestoun,	200
Dame Helen Fleeming,	200
Mr John Fleeming, advocat,	200
Mr David Forbes, advocat,	200
Adam Freer, doctor of medicin,	200
Mr John Forrest, minister at Prestoun-haugh,	200
Alexander Forbes, goldsmith in Edinburgh,	200
James Fairholm, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
James Fyfe, merchant in Aberdeen,	200
Thomas Fairholm, writer in Edinburgh,	200
Barbara Frazer, relict of George Stirling, chirurgion-apothecary in Edinburgh,	200
James Fletcher, provost of Dundee,	200
William Fulton, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
John Ferguson, skipper in Air,	100
David Ferguson, merchant there,	100
John Frazer, servitor to Alex. Innes, mercht. in Edin.	100
John Findlay, merchant in Kilmarnock,	100
William Fairlie of Bruntsfield,	100
Captain Francis Ferquhard in Sir John Hill's regiment,	100
Isobel Foulis lady Drylaw,	100
Mr Arthur Forbes, son to Craigievar,	100
Mr Robert Frazer, advocat,	100
Cicilia Fotheringham, lady Kilry,	100
Thomas Fairweather, merchant in Dundee,	100
George Fotheringham of Bandean,	100
George Fenwick, vintner in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Fergus, merchant there,	100
John Ferrier, merchant in Dundee,	100
Robert Forrester, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
William Ferguson, merchant in Kirkaldie,	100
Alexander Finlayson, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Carry Forward . .	£148830

Brought Forward . .	£148830
Thomas Fullertoun, late commander of the William and Mary, friggat,	100
William Ferguson, brother german to Mr Alexander Ferguson of Isle, advocat,	100
Mr James Fleeming, governour to Ochtertyre,	100
Mr John Flint, minister at Lochswade,	100
Robert Fletcher of Ballanshoe,	100
Mr David Forrester, minister at Lonforgen,	100
The Town of Glasgow,	3000
John lord Glenorchy,	2000
John Graham, younger, of Dougalstoun,	2000
Adam Gordon of Dalpholly,	1000
Mungo Græme of Gorthy,	700
Thomas Græme of Balgowan,	600
Thomas Gibson of Cramond,	500
The guildrie of Aberdeen,	500
John Geills, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
James Gibson, merchant in Glasgow,	500
Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun,	400
Sir John Gibson of Pentland,	400
Alexander Gibson, one of the clerks of the session,	400
James Graham of Orchill,	300
Adam Gairdine of Greenhill,	300
The guildrie of Linlithgow,	300
James Gordon, senior, merchant in Aberdeen,	250
Mr David Græme of Kilor,	200
The guildrie of Dundee,	200
The guildrie of Stirling,	200
George Greive, apothecary in Dundee,	200
Mr James Gregory, professor of the mathematicks in the colledge of Edinburgh,	200
William Graham, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
James Gregory, student of medicin,	200
Dame Margaret Graham lady Kinloch,	200
Thomas Glessel, merchant in Glasgow,	150
John Graham, son to John Graham, clerk to the chancellary,	100
Mr Zacharias Gemill of Bogside,	100
William Gordon, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Mr Francis Grant of Colin, advocat,	100
Captain James Gibson in colonel Macgill's regiment,	100
Captain John Gordon in my lord Strathnavers regt.	100
Walter Graham at the Miln of Gask,	100
Mr John Graham of Aberuthven,	100
Alexander Gordon, son to Mr Alexander Gordon, miuister at Inverarey,	100
Patrick Gilmor, taylor in Glasgow,	100
Carry Forward . .	£165830

Brought Forward . .	£165830
William Gilchrist, merchant there,	100
Thomas Gemill, hammerman in Gorbels,	100
Donald Govan, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Finlay Gray, merchant there,	100
Thomas Gordon, skipper in Leith,	100
Robert Gardyne, younger, of Latoun,	100
James Guthrie, merchant in Dundee,	100
John Gray, merchant there,	100
Christian Grierson, daughter to the deceast John Grierson	100
Mr Samuel Gray, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Alexander Glass, writer to the signet,	100
Mr Archibald Gladstons in North-house,	100
John Gordon of Coliston, doctor of medecin,	100
Thomas Graham of Ochterarder,	100
David Græme of Jordanstoun,	100
Andrew Gardiner, merchant in Perth,	100
Her Grace Anne dutches of Hamilton,	3000
Lord Basil Hamilton,	3000
Charles Hope of Hopetoun,	2000
Thomas earl of Haddington,	1000
Sir David Home of Crosrig, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	1000
Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun,	1000
Thomas Hay of Balhousie,	1000
Sir John Home of Blackadder,	1000
Sir Alexander Hope of Kerss,	1000
Sir John Houstoun of that Ilk,	1000
William Hay of Drumeiler,	1000
Sir James Hall of Dunglas,	1000
John Haldan of Gleneagles,	1000
James Houstoun, brother-germ. to Houstoun of that Ilk,	1000
Patrick Houstoun, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
Lord David Hay,	500
Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	500
Sir George Hamilton of Barntoun, baronet,	500
Sir William Hope of Kirkliston,	500
Sir William Hope of Craighall,	500
Sir Charles Halkett of Pitfirren,	500
Lieutenant-colonel Scipio Hill,	500
David Hepburn of Humbie,	500
George Home of Kimmergham,	500
George Home of Whitefield,	500
George Home, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Lord Alexander Hay, son to the marquis of Tweeddale,	400
The town of Haddington,	400
Carry Forward . .	£193730

Brought Forward . .	£193730
Sir John Hamilton of Halcraig, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	400
James Holburn of Menstrie,	400
Patrick Halyburton, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
William Hutchison, merchant there,	300
John Hay, merchant there,	300
Hugh Hunter, apothecary in Kilmarnock,	300
Patrick Home, master of Polwart,	300
Christian countess dowager of Haddington,	200
Mr Chas. Hamilton, son to the late earl of Haddington,	200
Alexander Home, son to Polwart,	200
Matthew Harestains of Craigs,	200
John Hay of Alderstoun,	200
William Hall, son to the deceast Sir John Hall of Dunglass,	200
John Hoppringle of that Ilk,	200
Dame Bethia Harper lady Cambusnethan,	200
William Hepburn of Beanston,	200
Margaret Hamilton lady Bengour,	200
Mr James Hamilton, advocat,	200
Mr Alexander Home, writer to the signet,	200
The incorporation of the hammer-men of Edinburgh,	200
Robert Hunter, merchant there,	200
David Haldan, brother to Gleneagles,	200
Mr John Hamilton, minister at Edinburgh,	200
Gilbert Hall, lieutenant of the guards of Edinburgh,	200
John Hay, servitor to the marquis of Tweeddale,	200
Robert Hepburn of Whitebrugh,	200
Robert Heriot, alias Craig of Ramornie,	200
Thomas Henderson of Plewlands,	200
Patrick Heron of Kenochtie,	200
Andrew Home, third son to Polwrath,	200
Mr John Hamilton, minister of the gospel at Edinburgh, for himself, and after his decease, to the children of his first marriage,	200
William Haddin, weaver in Glasgow,	150
John Hamilton, writer in Irving,	100
James Henderson, malt-man in Leith,	100
John Harper in Brierie-hill,	100
Robert Hunter, farmer in Straiton,	100
John Hunter, farmer in Hathorndane,	100
James Hutchison, merchant in Air,	100
Richard Houison, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Hugh Hamilton, merchant in Air,	100
John Hepburn, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Hugh Hay, merchant in Air,	100
Alexander Heriot, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Carry Forward . .	£202180

Brought Forward . .	£202180
Mathew Hapkin, merchant in Kilmarnock,	100
John Hay, merchant in Frazerburgh,	100
Robert Hunter, merchant in Air,	100
Mrs Ann Hamilton, daughter to Prestoun,	100
David Home, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Mrs Katharin Hall, daughter to the deceast Sir John Hall of Dunglass,	100
John Haliburton, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Halket, doctor of medicin,	100
George Herbertson, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Andrew Haliburton, brother to Newmains,	100
William Haliburton, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Janet Home, lady Eccles,	100
Robert Herdman, maltman in Leith,	100
William Hutton, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
John Hog, writer there,	100
Daniel Hamilton, writer there,	100
John Hay, chirurgion-apothecary there,	100
James Hutton, elder, in Rose, in Perthshire,	100
Robert Hunter of Baldavy,	100
Mrs Jean Hay, spouse to captain Lothian,	100
Patrick Haliburton, doctor of medicin,	100
James Hamilton, chirurgion-apothecary in Edinburgh,	100
Margaret Hepburn, daughter to the deceast George Hepburn, merchant there,	100
Captain William Henderson, in col. Macgill's regiment,	100
John Hamilton, chamberlain to the earl of Cassells,	100
Andrew Herron of Bergally,	100
The incorporation of the hammer-men and belt-makers in the Cannongate,	100
The incorporation of the hammer-men of Glasgow,	100
Mr James Henryson of Pitadro,	100
John Haliburton, junior, of Moore-houslaw,	100
James Hamilton, junior, merchant in Glasgow,	100
William, lord Jedburgh,	1500
Jesper Johnstoun of Waristoun,	500
Patrick Johnstoun, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Sir Alexander Jardin of Applegirth,	400
Robert Johnstoun and John Reid, merchants in Drumfreis,	400
Alexander Innes, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
Alexander Johnstoun of Elshishiels,	400
Robert Johnstoun, late provost of Drumfreis,	400
Charles Jackson, merchant in Edinburgh,	300
John Jameson of Balmore,	200
William Johnstoun in Barngleish,	200
James Johnstoun, merchant in Glasgow,	200
John Irving, son to John Irving of Drumcolton,	200
Carry Forward . .	£210880

Brought Forward . .	£210880
Mr Robert Innes, writer to the signet,	200
John Irving, son to John Irving, present provost of Drumfreis,	200
James Inglis, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
Thomas Justice, writer there,	200
Thomas Johnstoun, merchant in Glasgow,	200
George Johnstoun, merchant there,	200
Rachel Johnstoun, rel. of Mr Rob. Baillie of Jerviswood,	200
Sir Alexander Innes of Cockstoun,	200
Thomas Irving, merchant in Drumfreis,	200
The town of Inverness,	100
John Inglis, writer to the signet,	100
William Jameson, glasier in Edinburgh,	100
Simeon Jack, skipper in Leith,	100
Robert Innes, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Johnstoun, merchant there,	100
Alexander Johnstoun, merchant there,	100
William Johnstoun, post-master of Hadington,	100
Robert Iuglis, gold-smith in Edinburgh,	100
Dame Margaret Johnstoun, relict of Sir John Weems of Bogie,	100
Helen Johnstoun, lady Graden,	100
James Jaffray, ship-master in Kirkcaldie,	100
The town of Irving,	100
Jean Jameson, daughter to Mr Edward Jameson, minister,	100
The town of Innerkeithing,	100
Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill,	800
Patrick, lord Kinnaird,	700
John, earl of Kintore,	500
Mark Ker of Houndwood,	500
Thomas Kinkaid, son to Thomas Kinkaid of Auchinreogh,	500
John Kennedy, apothecary in Edinburgh,	500
James Kendall, skipper in Leith,	500
James Ker of Grange,	300
George Kinnaird, brother to the lord Kinnaird,	300
Mr Robert Keith of Feddret,	300
Alexander, earl of Kellie,	200
Andrew Karr, younger, of Kippilaw,	200
Henry Kendall, merchant in Leith,	200
Patrick Kid, merchant in Dundie,	200
Robert Kennedy of Auchtifardle,	200
William Kelso, writer in Edinburgh,	200
Mr John Ker, brother to the earl of Roxburgh,	200
Andrew Ker, younger, in Chatto,	200
Mr William Ker, brother-german to Roxburgh,	200
Jean Kincaid, relict of George Thomson of Maines,	100
Edward Ker, merchant in Irving,	100
Carry Forward . .	£221080

Brought Forward .	£221080
John Kyle, merchant in Largs,	100
John Kennedy, merchant in Glasgow,	100
David Kennedy of Kirkmichael,	100
Mr Thomas Kennedy, doctor of medicin,	100
Alexander Kirkwood, servitor to the lord of Murray,	100
Alison Ker, relict of John Ker, merchant in Kelso,	100
Mr John Kinloch, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Ker, gold-smith there,	100
John Knox, chirurgion to the castle of Edinburgh,	100
Robert Kinloch, late baillie in Dundie,	100
Robert Kelly, present baillie in Dunbar,	100
Alexander Keith, writer in Edinburgh,	100
John Knox, portioner in Falkirk,	100
James Kid of Craigie,	100
David, earl of Leven,	2000
George Lockhart of Carnwath,	1000
Mr William Livingstoun of Kilsyth,	1000
George Lockhart, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
John, earl of Lauderdale,	500
Robert, earl of Lothian,	500
James Lundie of that Ilk,	500
William Lamb, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Sir John Lauder of Fountain-hall, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	400
George Lind, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
George Livingstoun, taylor there,	400
Patrick Lesly of Balquhan,	300
Alexander Lesly, merchant in Bamff,	300
David Lumsden, son to Innergellie,	200
John Leckie, younger, of Newlands,	200
William Lawrie, tutor of Blackwood,	200
Andrew Law, gold-smith in Edinburgh,	200
David Ladley, merchant in Glasgow,	200
James Luke, gold-smith there,	200
The town of Linlithgow,	200
Mr Silvester Lyon, minister of Kirrenmure,	200
James Loggie, taylor in Glasgow,	125
John Lanrick, writer in Drumfries,	100
Robert Lawrie, younger, of Maxweltoun,	100
Charles Logan, merchant in Air,	100
Mr Patrick Liston, minister in Air,	100
James Lyell of Garden,	100
George Loch of Draylie,	100
Walter Lockhart of Kirktoun,	100
Mrs Aun Livingstoun, sister to Saltcoats,	100
John Libertoun, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mr Hugh Lind, merchant there,	100
Carry Forward . .	£234005

Brought Forward . .	£234005
Andrew Leitch, burgess of Stranraer,	100
James Law, elder, skipper in Leith,	100
James Law, junior, writer in Edinburgh,	100
John Leckie of Mye, merchant in Glasgow,	100
James Lees, merchant there,	100
Andrew Lees, merchant there,	100
George Logan, malt-man in Gorballs,	100
John Learmond, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Lindsay, merchant in Dundie,	100
George Lothian, junior, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
George Livingstoun, wright there,	100
James Laing, merchant there,	100
William Livingstoun, glover there,	100
Mr Michael Lumsden, advocat,	100
George Lawson, junior, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Jean Lockhart, relict of James Graham, vintner in Edin.	100
Mr John Lyon, sheriff-clerk of Forfar,	100
John Lundy, younger, of Bedaster,	100
Mr John Law, one of the regents of the col. of Glasgow,	100
William Meinzies, merchant in Edinburgh,	2000
The merchant-company of Edinburgh,	1200
James, marquis of Montrose,	1000
William, earl Marishall,	1000
Mr Francis Montgomery of Giffen,	1000
The merchant-house of Glasgow,	1000
Mr James Mackenzie, son to the viscount of Tarbat,	1000
Sir John Maxwell of Pollock,	1000
Sir Thomas Murray of Glendoick,	1000
Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre,	1000
Sir Archibald Mure of Thorntoun,	1000
William Morison of Preston-grange,	1000
James Macklurg, late dean of guild of Edinburgh,	1000
Hugh Montgomery, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
James Murray of Deuchar,	800
Patrick Murray of Livingstoun,	600
Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty,	500
Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	500
Andrew Myrton, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarrony,	500
John Murray of Touchadam,	500
Samuel Mackclellan, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
John Marjoribanks, merchant there,	500
William Mure, brother to Stonywood,	500
Mr John Meinzies, advocat,	400
The incorporation of Maries-chappel,	400
John Murray, junior, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
Carry Forward . .	£257705

Brought Forward . .	£257705
James Maxwell of Marksworth, merchant in Glasgow,	400
John Maxwell of Middlebie,	300
Captain Hugh Mackay, younger, of Borley,	300
Mr William Maitland, brother to the earl of Lauderdale,	250
Mr James Martin, late regent in Saint-Andrews,	250
Sir Alexander Monro of Bearcrofts,	200
Mary Murray, lady Enterkin, elder,	200
Dame Jean Mercer, lady Aldie,	200
John Macfarlan of that Ilk,	200
Mr Robert Merchistoun, minister,	200
Mr Charles Maitland, doctor of medicin,	200
James Marshall, writer in Edinburgh,	200
David Mikeson, merchant in Kirkcaldie,	200
Laurence Mercer of Melgins,	200
Mr George Murray, doctor of medicin,	200
Alexander Mure, younger, merchant in Kilmarnock,	200
James Montgomery, clerk to the justice-court,	200
Daniel Mackay, writer in Edinburgh,	200
Alexander Monteith, chirurgion there,	200
James Murehead, chirurgion there,	200
James Monteith of Auldcathie,	200
Robert Miln of Balfarg,	200
James Meinzies of Shian,	200
John Maxwell of Barncleugh,	200
Robert Maxwell of Garnsalloch,	200
John Mackfarlan, writer to the signet,	200
David Mitchell, doctor of medicin,	200
Robert Martin of Burnbray,	200
William Marsball, merchant in Glasgow,	200
William Mackrae, deacon of the baxters there,	200
Robert Murray, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
John Mathie, skipper in Prestonpans,	200
Alexander Miln of Carriden,	200
James Montgomery, younger, merchant in Glasgow,	200
Captain William Maxwell in col. Maitland's regiment,	200
Margaret Marjoribanks, daughter to Mr Andrew Marjoribanks,	200
Thomas Mitchell, merchant in Aberdeen,	200
Mr James Murray, chirurgion in Perth,	200
Thomas Miln of Miln-field,	200
George Mosman, book-seller in Edinburgh,	200
The incorporation of the malt-men of Glasgow,	200
Mr William Murray of Arbany,	200
William Mackgie of Balmagie,	200
Robert Mackdowal, younger, of Logan,	150
Gilbert Meinzies of Pitfodle,	150
Carry Forward . .	£267105

Brought Forward . .	£267105
Mr Robert Murray of Levelands,	150
Robert Murray, burges in Edinburgh,	150
David Maxwell, merchant in Dundie,	150
Alexander Mackleane, merchant in Inverness,	150
Mr John Murray, senior, advocat,	100
David Mitchell, baxter in Edinburgh,	100
William Mackcerrell of Hill-house,	100
Robert Milligan, merchant in Kilmarnock,	100
William Moris, apothecary there,	100
Margaret Murehead, daughter to James Murehead,	100
Elizabeth Murehead, her sister,	100
Thomas Maxwell, merchant in Glasgow,	100
James Mackbryd, town-clerk there,	100
Peter Murdoch, merchant there,	100
Thomas Mackgowan, provost of Irving,	100
Thomas Mastertoun, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
George Monro, clerk of Cunningham,	100
William Macktaggart, younger, merchant in Irving,	100
Robert Mure, provost of Air,	100
Katherin Mackell, daughter of the deceast Gilbert Mackell merchant in Edinburgh,	100
John Mure, merchant in Air,	100
John Malcolm, merchant there,	100
David Mackcubin, younger, of Knockdolian,	100
Alexander Mastertoun, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
James Miln, servitor to the earl Marishall,	100
Samuel Mure, merchant in Air,	100
John Millikin, merchant there,	100
James Meikle, malt-man in Yard-heads of Leith,	100
Patrick Mackdowal, younger, of Crichan,	100
Captain James Meinzies in colonel Hill's regiment,	100
Patrick Maxwell, tanner in Glasgow,	100
William Mackcrockatt, in the moor of Gorbals,	100
Adam Montgomery, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Maxwell of William-wood,	100
Mr Henry Marshall, chirurgion-apothecary in Glasgow,	100
Neil Mackviccar, tanner in Glasgow,	100
James Murray of Sundhope,	100
Mr Matthew Moncrieff of Colfargie,	100
James Macklellan, wright in Edinburgh,	100
Henry Massie, merchant there,	100
James Miln, apothecary there,	100
Thomas Mercer, writer there,	100
Mr James Murray at Orchard-miln,	100
Walter Murray, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Muddie, one of the present baillies of Dundie,	100
William Morison, merchant there,	100
Carry Forward . .	£271905

Brought Forward . .	£271905
John Mitchel, vintner in Edinburgh,	100
Andrew Murray, brother to Sundhope,	100
Richard Miller, baillie in Haddingtoun,	100
Henry Main, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Charles Mitchel, writer there,	100
William Macklean, master of the revels,	100
James Macklean, baillie of Inverness,	100
John Mackintosh, baillie there,	100
Robert Meinzies in Aberfadie,	100
Mr William Mackgie, precenter in Stirling,	100
John Murray, sometime of Pitcullen,	100
Patrick Murray, son to Patrick Murray of Keillor,	100
The incorporation of the masons of Glasgow,	100
Archibald Meinzies of Miln of Kiltney,	100
William Malcolm, writer in Kirkaldie,	100
John Melvill, secretary to the earl of Melvill,	100
Captain Patrick Murray of my lord Murray's regiment of foot,	100
George Murray in Dalhousie-mains,	100
John Mailer in Balyimon,	100
James Maxwell, eldest son to John Maxwell of Barncleugh,	100
Mrs Jean Murray, daughter to Wood-end,	100
Gilbert More, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Mackjorrow, merchant in Air,	100
William Nisbet of Dirletoun,	1000
David, earl of Northesk,	500
Margaret, lady dowager of Nairn,	500
Lady Margaret Napier,	400
William Napier, merchant in Glasgow,	300
William, lord Nairn,	200
James Nicolson of Trabroun, dean of guild of Edin.	200
William Neilson, merchant in Inverness,	175
Mr James Nasmith, deput-clerk of Edinburgh,	100
William Niven, smith in Pollock-shaws,	100
William Norvell, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Nairn of Dichindad,	100
Robert Nicolson, son to Mr Thomas Nicolson, advocat,	100
Margaret Nicolson, lady Dalry,	100
William Nairn, baillie in Dalkeith,	100
George Nisbet, glasier in Glasgow,	100
William Neilson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Dame Isobel Nicolson, lady Cock-pen, elder,	100
William Nicolson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mr Francis Napier, baillie in Stirling,	100
Sir James Oswald of Fingaltoun,	500
James Oliphant of Williamstoun,	500
William Oliphant of Gask,	500
Carry Forward . .	£280180

Brought Forward . .	£280180
Patrick Ogilvie of Balfour,	400
Charles Oliphant, doctor of medicin,	200
Charles Ogilvie, merchant in Montrose,	200
Laurence Oliphant, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Orrok, merchant there,	100
John Oliphant, son to William Oliphant, merchant in Dundie,	100
John Olipher, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
William Ogilvie in Tods-haw-hill,	100
The town of Perth,	2000
James Pringle of Torwoodlie,	1300
Patrick Porteous of Halk-shaw,	1100
James, earl of Panmure,	1000
Sir James Primrose of Caringtoun,	1000
Patrick, lord Polwarth,	500
Sir John Pringle of Stitchel,	500
Robert Pollock of that Ilk,	500
David Plenderleith of Blyth,	500
Hugh Paterson, chirurgion in Edinburgh,	400
George Pringle of Green-know,	400
Andrew Paterson, wright in Edinburgh,	300
Gawen Plummer, merchant there,	300
Alexander Pyper, merchant in Montrose,	300
The royal colledge of physicians,	200
Alexander Porterfield of that Ilk,	200
Mr Walter Pringle, advocat,	200
Mr Archibald Pitcairn, doctor of medicin,	200
John Pringle, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
John Porteous, merchant in Dalkeith,	200
Thomas Pringle, writer to the signet,	200
The town of Pasely, (Paisley),	200
John Porterfield, brother to Porterfield of that Ilk,	100
Robert Paterson, merchant in Kilmarnock,	100
John Porteous, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Franck Pringle, brother to Mr Walter Pringle, advocat,	100
James Pringle, brother to Torsonce,	100
Bessie Peady, relict to John Maxwell, merchant in Glasgow,	100
William Peacock, cordiner there,	100
John Penman, writer there,	100
John Paterson, wright there,	100
Thomas Pollock, taylor there,	100
John Paul, malt-man there,	100
Mr David Pitcairn of Dreghorn,	100
Mr George Pitcairn, one of the commissaries of Dunkeld,	100
Marion Preston, daughter to Walefield,	100
Carry Forward . .	£294580

Brought Forward . .	£294580
Alexander Preston, merchant in Dundie,	100
Mr John Paterson of Cragie,	100
Mrs Elizabeth Pillans, daughter to Mr James Pillans, late regent of the colledge of Edinburgh,	100
Robert Pringle, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Pringle in Ferny-hirst in Stou-parish,	100
His Grace James duke of Queens-berry,	3000
The town of Queens-ferry,	100
Henry Rollo of Wood-side,	1400
Margaret countess of Rothes,	1000
Margaret countess of Roxburgh,	1000
William lord Ross,	1000
David lord Ruthven,	1000
James Row of Chesters, and merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
William Robertson of Gladney,	1000
Robert Rodger, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
Mr David Ramsay, writer to the signet,	1000
Thomas Rutherford of Wells,	800
James Rochead, of Enderleith,	500
John Robertson, younger, merchant in Glasgow,	500
Walter Riddel, younger of that Ilk,	400
Lieutenant Colonel Robert Reid,	400
Thomas Robertson of Loch-bank,	400
David Ramsay, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
John Robertson, merchant there,	300
Patricia Ruthven, grand-child to the earl of Bramford,	200
Andrew Rutherford of Edgerstoun,	200
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Thomas Robertson, merchant in Dundee,	125
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Alexander Ragg, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
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Carry Forward . .	£315025

Brought Forward . .	£315025
John Ross, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
David Renny, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
James Russel, writer there,	100
George Robertson, writer in Dunblain,	100
Mr William Rait, minister of Monikie,	100
Captain Leonard Robertson of Straloch,	100
Thomas Rutherford of Knowsouth,	100
Jerome Robertson, periwig-maker in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Robertson, son to James Robertson, merchant in Glasgow,	100
William Robin, merchant in Air,	100
Walter Riddel of Frier-shaw,	100
Alexander Rule, professor of the Oriental languages,	100
Lieutenant Charles Ross of Sir John Hill's regiment,	100
George Robertson, younger, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Andrew Robertson, chirurgion in Edinburgh,	100
James Robertson, taylor in Cannongate,	100
John Ritchie, elder, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Robertson, hammer-man there,	100
George Robertson, belt-maker there,	100
William Rutherford of Fala, merchant in Jedburgh,	100
Robert Rutherford, apothecary there,	100
William Ross, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
William Riddel, writer there,	100
Thomas Rattray in Slogging-hole,	100
Mr Gilbert Rule, doctor of medicin,	100
Mr Donald Robertson, minister of the Gospel,	100
John Ritchie, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mary Rymer, relict of David Montier, mercht. in Edin.	100
Robert Reid, merchant there,	100
William Rutherford, doctor of medicin,	100
Alexander Reid, present baillie in Dundee,	100
William Reid, merchant there,	100
James Ramsay, clerk-deput there,	100
Wm. Robertson, one of the sub-clerks of the session,	100
James Ronald, son to John Ronald, chirurgion, Edin.	100
John Ronald, son to John Ronald, chirurgion there,	100
Eliz. Ronald, daught. to John Ronald, chirurgion there,	100
Hugh Robertson, provost of Inverness,	100
Mr William Robertson of Inshes,	100
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James Robertson, merchant in Jedburgh,	100
The easter sugarie of Glasgow, viz. James Peadie, Robert Corse, John Luke, William and John Corses, each of them for £500, and for John and Robert Bogles £250 each,	3000
Carry Forward .	£322225

Brought Forward . .	£322225
John Stewart of Gairntilly,	3000
Sir William Scott, younger, of Harden,	2000
Sir John Swinton of that Ilk,	2000
George earl of Sutherland,	1000
Charles earl of Southesque,	1000
William viscount of Strathallan,	1000
John viscount of Stairs,	1000
Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestoun,	1000
Sir John Shaw of Greenock, baronet,	1000
Sir Patrick Scott of Ancrum,	1000
Hugh Stevenson of Montgreenan,	1000
Thomas Spence, writer in Edinburgh,	1000
John Sprewl alias Bass-John, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
Sir George Suttie of Balgond,	1000
Alexander Stevenson, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
Mr David Scrimsour of Cartmore,	800
Sir Archibald Stevenson, doctor of medicin,	600
John Sharp of Hoddom,	600
James Scott of Gala,	600
John Spence of Blair,	600
John earl of Strathmore,	500
William lord Saltoun,	500
The town of Selkirk,	500
John Skein, younger, of Hall-yards in Fife,	500
Francis Scott of Mangertoun,	500
Hercules Scott of Brothertoun,	500
John Scott of Comistoun,	500
Captain Charles Straiton,	500
John Smith, merchant in Glasgow,	500
Matthew Sinclair, doctor of medicin,	500
William Spence, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, baronet,	400
Sir William Stirling of Ardoch,	400
Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenson,	400
John Sinclair, younger, of Stevenson, his son,	400
James Steill, elder, merchant in Edinburgh,	400
Sir Alexander Swinton of Mersington, one of the senators of the colledge of justice,	400
William Scott of Raeburn,	300
Mr Robert Stewart, junior, advocat,	300
The incorporation of the skinners, of Edinburgh,	300
John Scrimsour, merchant in Dundie,	300
George Stirling of Herbert-shire,	300
Robert Scott of Elingstone,	200
John Scott of Gorrenberrie,	200
James Spittle of Leuquhar,	200
Patrick Seton of Lathrisk,	200
Carry Forward . .	£354625

Brought Forward . .	£354625
George Smith, younger, of Giblestoun,	200
William Smith of Brousterland,	200
Walter Scott of Eadinshead,	200
Mr Thomas Skene, advocat,	200
James Skene of New-grange,	200
James Scott of Sheill-wood,	200
John Sandilands of Countes-walls,	200
Gideon Scott of Falnesh,	200
The town of Stirling,	200
Captain Thomas Sharp of Houstoun,	200
Mr Alexander Sheriff, writer in Edinburgh,	200
William Souper, merchant in Aberdeen,	200
John Somervell of Gladstones, merchant in Edinb.	200
Mr James Smith of White-hill,	200
John Skene, ensign in lord Lindsay's regiment,	200
Walter Scott, brother to Raeburn,	200
George Sutherland, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
Andrew Smeiton, merchant in Dundie,	200
John Stevenson, provost of Stirling,	200
John Scougall, limner in Edinburgh,	200
Robert Smith, merchant there,	200
Walter Stewart, at the miln of Pitcairn, in Perth-shire,	150
Alexander Stewart, skipper in Inverness,	150
John Stiven, weaver in Glasgow,	125
George Stirling, doctor of medicin,	100
Mary Simpson, relict of Mr Robert Lundie minister at Leuchars,	100
Hugh Sandilands, fewer in Calder,	100
John Semple, merchant in Hamilton,	100
William Shiels in Pollock-shiels,	100
John Smith, wright in Gorballs,	100
John Smellum, doctor of medicin,	100
Mr James Stevenson, chirurgion-apothecary in Air,	100
James Smith, architect at Hamilton,	100
Marion Somervell, relict of Andrew Purdie,	100
Andrew Simpson in Pendrich,	100
Mrs Mary Stirling, daughter to Mr John Stirling, minister, once at Edinburgh, and last at Irving,	100
George Stirling, servitor to the lord Whitelaw,	100
John Scott, son to Thirlestone,	100
James Simson, skipper in Leith,	100
John Scott, malt-man in Rutherglen,	100
William Scott, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Smellie, merchant there,	100
James Slosse, merchant there,	100
John Stirling, merchant there,	100
John Spreull of Miltoun,	100
Carry Forward . .	£361350

Brought Forward . .	£361350
Robert Scott, taylor in Glasgow,	100
Robert Stevenson, wright there,	100
Robert Stirling, brother to Glorat,	100
Mr Thomas Smith, apothecary in Glasgow,	100
Spittells Hospital, in Stirling,	100
John Stewart, of Dalguise,	100
Captain Ja. Stewart, in Sir John Hill's regiment,	100
William Selkrig, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Smellie, merchant there,	100
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Helen Stewart, relict of doctor Murray,	100
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Mr Alexander Smith, writer there,	100
Mr William Scott, professor of philosophy in the colledge of Edinburgh,	100
The sea-mans-box in Dundee,	100
John Scott, junior, in Dundee,	100
Elizabeth Stirling, daughter to the deceas'd George Stirling, chirurgion in Edinburgh,	100
John Shaw, late of Sornbeg,	100
Henry Smith, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Francis Scott, brother to the deceas'd earl of Tarras,	100
William Stewart of Castle-stewart,	100
Jean Scott, lady Eilingston,	100
James Scott, servitor to the earl Marshall,	100
James Samson, writer in Edinburgh,	100
Sir Robert Sibbald, doctor of medicin,	100
John Strachan, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
John Smith, junior, merchant in Linlithgow,	100
Mr Patrick Sandilands of Cottoun,	100
James Scott of Benholm,	100
George Shaw of Sauchie,	100
Carry Forward . .	£365750

Brought Forward . .	£365750
Mr Archibald Sinclair, advocat,	100
Mr Patrick Simson, minister at Renfrew,	100
William Smith, merchant in Glasgow,	100
Walter Scott, younger, of Wool,	100
Gideon Scott, son to John Scott of Wool,	100
Patrick Thomson, town-treasaurer,	1500
John, marquis of Tweeddale, lord high chancellor,	1000
George, viscount of Tarbat,	1000
John Tod, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
Katharin Trotter, lady Craig-leith,	500
The trades-house of Glasgow,	400
The incorporation of the taylors, of the Cannongate,	300
Mr William Thomson, writer to the signet,	200
Robert Trotter, writer in Edinburgh,	200
John Turnbull, merchant there,	200
The incorporation of the taylors in Glasgow,	200
The trinity-house in Leith,	200
Dame Elizabeth Trotter, lady Nicolson,	200
Mr Thomas Thomson of Cockland, minister at Forress,	200
Robert Tweeddale in Mid-Calder,	100
Robert Tennoch, merchant in Glasgow,	100
John Thomson of Seven-acres,	100
Robert Turnbull, burges of Linlithgow,	100
Andrew Teuchler, merchant,	100
Mr Alexander Thomson, town-clerk of Aberdeen,	100
Mr William Thomson, writer in Edinburgh,	100
James Thomson in Hill of Kilmares,	100
John Threpland, merchant at Perth,	100
Patrick Tennent, gardener in Glasgow,	100
William Thomson of Cors-hill,	100
James Thomson, tanner in Glasgow,	100
Alexander Tran, chirurgion there,	100
John Taillferr, merchant in Leith,	100
Robert Thomson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Helen Trotter, lady Crumston,	100
George Turnbull, writer in Edinburgh,	100
And. Thomson, serv. to Charles Divvie, mercht. there,	100
Patrick Tod, merchant in Dundee,	100
Andrew Tennent, vintner in Edinburgh,	100
The incorporation of the taylors of Easter-ports-burgh,	100
David Trail, son to James Trail, ensign in Stirling-castle,	100
Isabel Tyrie, lady Glasclune,	100
Mr John Tran, regent in Glasgow,	100
Margaret, countess of Weems,	2000
George Warrander, merchant in Edinburgh,	2000
Lieutenant colonel George Wisheart,	1500
Carry Forward . .	£381250

Brought Forward . .	£381250
Robert Watson, merchant in Edinburgh,	1000
John Watson, senior, merchant there,	1000
William Wooddrop, merchant in Glasgow,	1000
Peter Wedderburn of Gosford,	500
Robert Walwood, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
John Watson, younger, merchant there,	500
John Wilkie, merchant there,	500
William Wightman, skinner there,	500
James Walkingshaw, merchant in Glasgow,	500
William Walwood, son to the deceast Henry Walwood, merchant in Edinburgh,	500
John Wightman, skinner there,	400
James Watson of Sauchtoun,	400
Adam Wat of Rose-hill,	300
John Wallace, son to John Wallace, mercht. in Glasgow,	300
James Williamson of Cardrona,	300
Alexander Wedderburn, brother to Gosford,	300
Alexander Wright, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
Mr Robert Wylie, minister at Hamilton,	200
Robert White of Conland,	200
Mr Robert Weems of Grangemuir,	200
Mr David Williamson, minister at the West-kirk,	200
James and Robert Watsons, merchants, in Stirling, sons to Duncan Watson, late baillie in Stirling,	200
Alexander Waddel, writer in Edinburgh,	200
Thomas White, elder, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
Thomas Wordie, merchant in Stirling,	200
Mr William Wisheart, minister of South-leith,	200
Alexander Wood, merchant in Edinburgh,	200
Mr Robert White of Bennochie,	200
Robert Watson, writer to the signet,	200
Mr William Watson of Tour,	150
Helen Watson, relict of Gilbert Mackell, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Robert Wright, merchant in Kilmarnock,	100
The incorporation of the wrights in the Cannongate,	100
David Walker, tanner in Lesly,	100
William Wardrop, litster in Edinburgh,	100
William Wooddrop, portioner of Dalmarnock,	100
John Wilson, book-binder in Glasgow,	100
Henry Wyllie, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
William Wilson, one of the under-clerks of Session,	100
Lieutenant John Walkinshaw in Sir John Hill's regt.	100
James Watson, malt-man in Leith,	100
Mr Duncan Williamson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
The wrights in Glasgow,	100
Andrew Wardrop, late baillie in Dundee,	100
Carry Forward . .	£393900

Brought Forward . .	£393900
Robert Watson, merchant there,	100
Peter Wedderburn, merchant there,	100
Robert Wardroper, merchant in Dundee,	100
John Watson, doctor of medicin,	100
John Williamson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Thomas Weir, chirurgion there,	100
Alexander Wilkieson, writer there,	100
John White, merchant in Kirkaldie,	100
Daniel Weir, brother to Stonebyers,	100
Hugh Warden, merchant in Glasgow,	100
James Wilson, merchant in Hamilton,	100
Mr James Whitehead in Lymkilns,	100
William Wilkie in Echline,	100
Alexander Walker, merchant in Aberdeen,	100
Thomas Warrander, painter in Edinburgh,	100
Alexander Watson, son to the deceast Adam Watson, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Mr Patrick Warner, minister at Irving,	100
Elizabeth White, lady South-house,	100
James Wallace, merchant in Edinburgh,	100
Alexander Udney, son to the laird of Udney,	400
Mr Andrew Urie, minister at Moravinside,	200
Robert Urie in Miln-brae,	100
Robert Veatch, merchant in Air,	100
John Vans, merchant in Air,	100
John lord Hay of Yester,	1000
Captain Thomas Young,	500
Thomas Young, late baillie of Edinburgh,	300
Joseph Young, merchant there,	300
James Young, merchant there,	200
John Young of Banchrie,	100
Isabel Yeaman, relict of Robert Robertson, merchant in Haddingtoun,	100
Robert Zuill, merchant in Glasgow,	500
Mr William Zeaman, chirurgion in Dundee,	100
Patrick Zeaman, late baillie there,	100
Rachel Zeaman, relict of Mr George Forrester of Knap,	100
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